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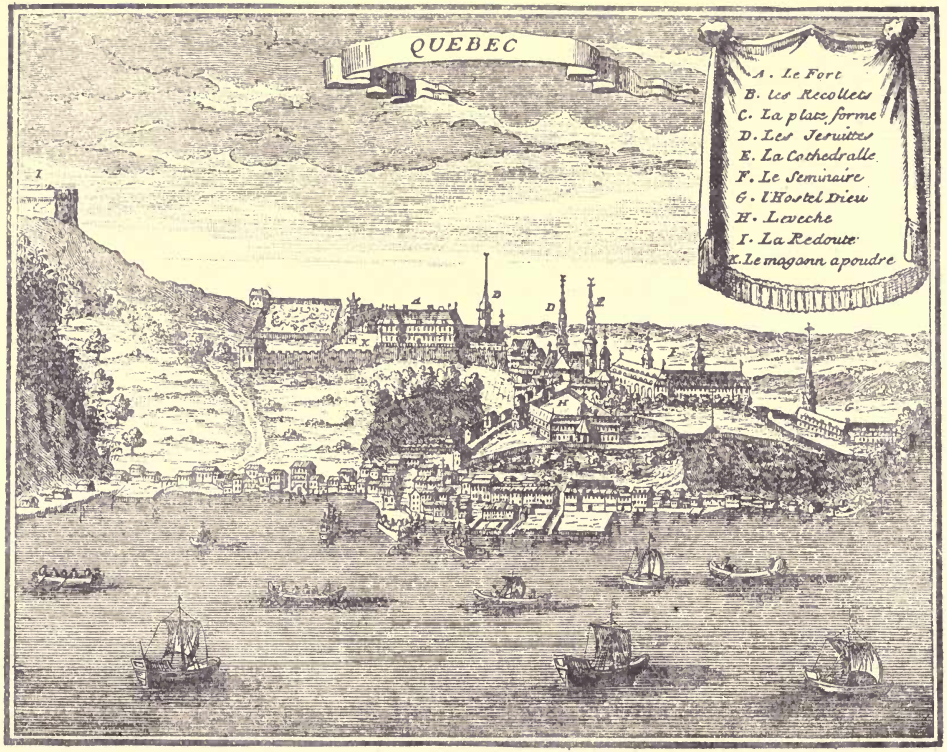
MAKERS OF CANADA



QUEBEC IN THE TIME OF FRONTENAC

THE DEATH OF WOLFE ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, QUEBEC

Builders of Canada

FROM

Cartier to Laurier

BY

AGNES MAULE MACHAR, LOUIS HONORÉ FRECHETTE, J. CASTELL HOPKINS, DAVID CREIGHTON, WILLIAM BUCKINGHAM, F. BLAKE CROFTON, J. LAMBERT PAYNE, AND OTHERS

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Embellished with Many Appropriate Engravings

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PREFACE.

IN attempting to give an account of the Makers of Canada it has been found impossible to include the names of all the prominent men who have figured on the stage of history in New France and in British North America. In the case of such a prominent soldier as Montcalm, so much of his life is woven into the story of Wolfe that it was deemed unnecessary to devote a separate sketch to him. Again, in dealing with the men of a more recent age, it was thought best to consider only those men who have played their part in the history of the Dominion as a whole and, therefore, such prominent Canadians as Principal Grant, Sir Daniel Wilson, Sir William Dawson and others have been omitted. It was deemed wise to include all the Premiers of the Dominion, for, although several of them were men of comparatively slight importance, their position and the questions that were associated with their names make them, as it were, national figures.

The studies of the early part will be found to fully present the Romance of Canadian History, and the writers in dealing with the French period of our history, have, as far as possible, kept to the fore the picturesque in the lives under consideration.

In treating more recent history, as some of the men studied are still living and many of them are personally remembered by living Canadians, it was thought wise, whenever possible, to give extracts, at some length, from their letters or diaries or speeches that would let them reveal themselves.

The authors of this volume are all experienced writers, and in every case in sympathy with the subjects that they treat. Agnes Maule Machar, the author of several of the sketches, has for many years been an ardent student of the early history of Canada, and has made an exhaustive study of the lives of such men as Champlain and La Salle. The writers of the lives

of the more recent Makers of Canada will be found to be men who have been intimately associated, either personally or in a public way, with the careers of the subjects of their sketches. In the case of the study of the Rt.-Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the greatest of living Canadian statesmen, the publishers have been fortunate enough to secure a sympathetic and unbiased study from the pen of Louis Honoré Fréchette, a great Conservative compatriot and the ablest writer French Canada has yet produced.

The publishers have to thank the Copp Clark Company, of Toronto, for kindly permitting them to reproduce several of the sketches which have previously appeared in the editor's *Stories from Canadian History.*

In every case where the author of the article is not named the sketch has been written by the editor.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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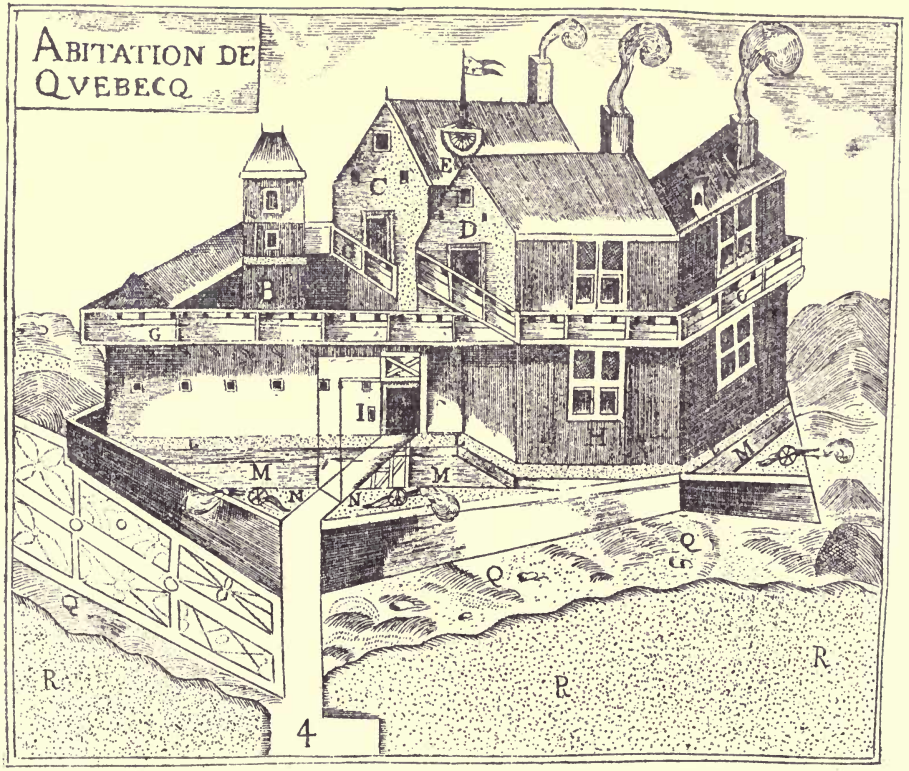

CHAMPLAIN'S BUILDING AT QUEBEC
Erected on Commanding Rock and built for a fortress.

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JACQUES CARTIER

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

CHAPTER I.

JACQUES CARTIER.

By AGNES MAULE MACHAR.

Canadian History Begins with Jacques Cartier—The Time of His Birth Uncertain—A Renowned Sailor—Sails to Canada in 1534—His Departure from St. Malo—Reaches Newfoundland—His Description of the Country—First Contact with the Indians—Takes Possession of the Country for France—Returns to France—Prepares for a Second Voyage—A Stormy Passage—In Sight of Stadacona (Quebec)—Cartier's Reception by Donnacona—Sails up the River to Hochelaga (Montreal)—His Reception at Hochelaga—Back at Stadacona—Winters in Canada—Hardships and Scurvy—Sails to Old France Taking a Number of Indians—Undertakes a Third Voyage—Fails to Found a Colony—Returns in Disgust to France—Honors and Riches His Reward—His Death.

CANADIAN history properly begins with the name of Jacques Cartier, for, though he made no permanent settlement in this country, the accounts of his famous voyages and of his efforts to found a colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence did much to draw future discoverers and adventurers to the northern part of the American continent.

Of the life of this great sailor but little is known. Even the date of his birth is mere conjecture. The date usually given is December 31, 1494; but it is much more probable that he was born in the year 1491, between June 7 and December 23.

Before attempting his first celebrated voyage of discovery to Canada he was already a noted mariner, having made, it is stated, no fewer than three voyages to Newfoundland. It is likewise supposed that he had seen service with the Portuguese government, and that, in the year 1527, he visited Brazil, but of the period of his life before 1534 little or nothing is definitely known.

Of his voyages to Canada, however, we have several excellent accounts, and no man among the early explorers is better known than this celebrated mariner of St. Malo.

The bright spring sunshine lighted up the gray walls and battlements of the rugged old sea-port town of St. Malo, on the coast of Brittany, when,

April 20, 1534, two little ships slowly glided away from its harbor bound on a long and adventurous voyage. They were manned by a hundred and twenty men, and their commander was Jacques Cartier, a captain specially chosen by King Francis. The king hoped that he would be able to discover the coveted short route to China and Cathay, and possibly to discover the gold and silver of which the French had heard in South America. He expected, also, that Cartier would open up new channels for trade, and secure the possession of part, at least, of the great new continent, to which, as he truly said, France had as good a right as Spain and Portugal, who wanted to have it all to themselves.

The little expedition sailed across the wide Atlantic, reaching Cape Bonavista in Newfoundland about the middle of May. From thence, passing on to the Isle of Birds, as the Portuguese had called it on account of the multitude of birds there, they arrived at the Straits of Belle Isle, and after some detention through bad weather, they explored the cold and sterile shores of Labrador and Newfoundland.

Cartier thought that this barren and uninviting land might be taken for the country assigned to Cain; and considered one acre of the Magdalen Islands, which he reached next, as worth the whole of Newfoundland. He had much to tell of the birds he found there, as well as of "beasts as large as oxen, and possessing great tusks like elephants," which, when he approached, leaped suddenly into the sea. He described, too, the beautiful trees and delicious fruits, as well as the wild corn, blossoming peas (vetches), currants, strawberries, roses and sweet-smelling herbs.

Cartier thought the waves were very heavy and strong among these islands. This made him think that there was probably an opening between Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and he began to look for a passage by which he might sail westward into the heart of the country. As the sailors rowed their boats close in shore, coasting along bays and inlets, they could sometimes see the naked savages moving about on the beach, or paddling their light birch canoes; after a time they managed to hold some intercourse and traffic with them, by means of signs and little gifts of hatchets, knives, beads and toys, often having as many as fifty canoes about them. The

Indians were delighted to exchange their fish for the knives and hatchets which they coveted so much, and a red cap for their chief sent them away overjoyed.

Cartier tried in vain all the little inlets and rivers opening out of the Bay of Chaleurs (heats), to which he gave this name because he found there both the weather and the water so warm. Failing to find any passage like that by which he had entered the Gulf, he sailed east and northward along the coast of Gaspé Bay. Here he landed and set up a large wooden cross, thirty feet high, carved with three *fleurs-de-lis*, and bearing the inscription in French, "Long live the King of France!" By this means he formally took possession of the land for the King of France.

In order to impress the savages the more, the French knelt around the cross, and made signs, by pointing to the sky, to show that it was connected with the salvation of man. This done, Cartier and his men returned to their ships and were visited afterwards by many of the Indians, including the Chief, his brother and three sons. The chief showed them by expressive signs that he did not like their setting up the cross on his territory without his permission, but when they had induced him to enter their ships and look at the hatchets and knives that the white men had for trading, Cartier easily persuaded him that the cross had been set up merely as a beacon to point the way to the harbor.

Cartier treated the chief hospitably, expressing a great desire to make friends with his people, and promising to return, bringing many useful articles made of iron to exchange for furs. Two of the chief's sons were persuaded to accompany him to France, putting on with great satisfaction the new clothes that Cartier gave them, and throwing the old ones to their friends, who came out to take leave of them, bringing farewell gifts of fish in their canoes. Then with good will expressed on all sides, the French captain sailed away, exhorting the Indians to respect the cross he had set up on the shore.

Head winds and storms prevented Cartier from making any further discoveries on this voyage. He just missed finding his way into the St. Lawrence at Anticosti, supposing, without full examination, that the gulf

there was a great bay. When he arrived home in September, his account of his adventures was eagerly listened to. The two young Indians he had brought with him were objects of great interest to the Bretons, and were taught to speak French, so that they might answer the questions which were asked on all sides.

Cartier received great honors for his discoveries, and many people in France were most anxious that he should make a second voyage in order to extend them.

In spite of opposition they succeeded in organizing another and a better equipped expedition than the first. Extensive preparations were made during the winter, and on a bright spring day—May 16, 1535—all St. Malo was astir to see the great religious ceremonial which celebrated the departure of the little fleet. Down in the bay rode at anchor "La Grande Hermine," a large-sized ship for those days, with the two smaller vessels which were to complete the flotilla. In these were to go, besides the crews, several members of the French *noblesse.* And in the old cathedral were assembled the officers and men to hear mass and to receive absolution and the paternal blessing of the bishop on their perilous enterprise; while the Breton wives, mothers and maidens, in their picturesque costumes, looked on in mingled pride and anxiety. Three days later the flotilla set sail for the setting sun.

Scarcely, however, had they lost sight of the Breton cliffs when the ships were scattered by a violent storm. It was July before they were collected at the Straits of Belle Isle, from whence they coasted along the bleak shore of Labrador till they entered a small bay opposite the Island of Anticosti. It was the *fête* of St. Lawrence when they entered the gulf, and Cartier bestowed that name on the bay, from whence it afterwards extended to the whole Gulf and thence to the noble river, then called by Cartier the River of Hochelaga. The St. Lawrence, therefore, keeps in its name a record of the very day when Cartier's expedition first floated on its waters, after its long tossing on a stormy sea.

Piloted by the young Indians who had accompanied Cartier to France, the French ships sailed up the great unknown river, on which no white wings save those of the sea-gulls had ever appeared before. The

mariners gazed with admiring interest at the grand, sombre, pine-clad hills that seemed to guard the approach, and at the gloomy gorge of the dark Saguenay, with huge rugged rocks and dense forests. They landed on a long, low island which they called the *Isle aux Coudres* on account of the delicious filberts they found there.

Passing up what is now called St. Paul's Bay and on under the frowning headlands of Cape Tourmente, they dropped anchor at last on the lea of "a fair island" crowned with rich woods and festooned with wild vines and such abundant clusters of grapes that Cartier gave it the name of the Isle of Bacchus. We know it as the beautiful Island of Orleans, whose purple mass divides the river below the rock of Quebec.

According to their young Indian guides, the country they were now sailing through was divided into three territories. The first took its name from the Saguenay, beginning at Anticosti and ending with the *Isle aux Coudres.* The second extending thence to Hochelaga, the present site of Montreal, was called *Kanata,* a Mohawk word signifying a village or cluster of huts. This name, slightly changed into Canada has widened its significance, until, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it includes half a continent. The third territory, Hochelaga, was the largest, richest and most populous of the three, which of course formed only a small part of the country now called Canada.

As the ships approached the shore and cast anchor, the Indians could be seen watching them with great interest and wonder; though probably they had heard rumors before of these strange winged canoes and pale-faced visitors. At first they seemed disposed to fly, but Cartier sent ashore his two young Indian pilots. Doubtless they had many wonderful stories to tell their people—stories which must have seemed to them like tales from another world. Very soon curiosity overcame fear, and the redmen's birch canoes were seen swarming about the ships, loaded with presents of maize, fruit and fish, in return for which Cartier gave them the gifts they prized so much.

Cartier's two young Indians could now speak French pretty well, and acted as interpreters between their countrymen and these strange visitors. The Indians eagerly examined the winged canoes, climbed into the rigging,

and gazed in astonishment at the faces and clothes of the Frenchmen. Next day their old chief Donnacona came in state to visit Cartier, attended by a train of twelve canoes, full of Indians in paint and feathers, with tomahawks and bows and arrows. He left ten of his canoes at a safe distance and approaching the ships with the other two he began a long oration, inquiring whether the strangers had come for peace or war. With the help of his interpreters, Cartier succeeded in reassuring him, and invited him into his cabin, where he regaled him before they parted, the old chief kissing Cartier's arm and placing it round his own neck, as the greatest mark of respect he could show him.

Cartier, of course, was eager to press on up the magnificent river which seemed to beckon him to follow its windings. But first he must find a convenient harbor for his ships. He sailed on till he reached the mouth of a little river flowing into a "goodly and pleasant sound," making a sheltered haven at a point which still seems the fitting portal of the fair Dominion of Canada. Here the river became a mile-wide strait. On one side were the wooded heights of Point Lévis; on the other, rising grand and sheer from the river, the great, brown rock of Cape Diamond, thrusting rugged scarped cliffs through its fringe of stately trees out into the dark river below. As the Frenchmen looked up at these rocky ramparts towering above the little Indian "village" that clung to their sides, as if for protection, they must have felt that here was a natural site for a commanding fortress. And, indeed, Quebec was destined, through centuries of struggle to be the key to the possession of Canada.

Cartier moored his ships in the little river, which he called the St. Croix —now the St. Charles—and Donnacona came with a train of five hundred Indians to welcome him. Cartier, in his turn, landed to visit Stadacona, as the cluster of wigwams was called. Here the French captain and his friends were received with great joy and cordiality by the inhabitants, who were delighted to have the opportunity of a nearer view, and entertained them with their Indian songs and dances—the men and boys screeching out welcome, and the squaws dancing knee-deep in the water. Cartier's gifts of

gay-colored beads redoubled their hilarity, and their joyous though discordant songs followed the departing French as they rowed out to the ships.

But Cartier had heard that miles away up the river lay a large Indian town called Hochelaga, the capital of a great country. Thither he wished to proceed, with his two young Indian guides as interpreters. But Donnacona and the Indians seemed jealous of the strangers going further into their country, and tried a curious device for keeping them back.

One morning the Frenchmen saw, from their ships lying at anchor in the St Croix, a canoe containing three strange figures, clothed in black and white dog skins, with black faces and long horns. One of these, gazing straight before him, uttered a long harangue in the Indian tongue, as they passed the ships. Then, as they were paddling towards the shore, they all fell flat down in the canoe.

The Indians on shore rushed down, screaming, to their aid, and carried them off to the woods, where an earnest debate seemed to follow, after which the Indian guides came to the shore, looking so dismayed that Cartier shouted to them, asking what was the matter. They replied that their god Coudouagny had sent to warn the French against ascending the great river further, as this would bring them into danger and disaster from storms and snow and drifting ice. Cartier only replied—smiling, no doubt, at the simple device—that Coudouagny was a fool; that he could not hurt Christians, and that they could tell this to the messengers.

The Indians seemed much delighted at his courage, dancing on the beach to show their satisfaction. Cartier, however, desired to impress them still further with the Frenchman's power, and had a dozen of his cannon loaded with bullets and fired into the woods. As the Indians heard the thunder of the great guns reverberating for the first time from the hills and rocks which were destined often to hear them again, and saw the destroying rain of bullets crashing through the trees, they were overpowered with amazement and terror, and fled howling and shrieking far into the forest.

Cartier now laid up his two larger ships in the St. Charles, and in his smallest vessel, the "Hermerillon," set sail again on the noble river.

The September sunshine lay soft and golden on the yellowing forest, as the little bark floated slowly on between the high, wooded shores. Cartier marked all the features of the scenery with keen eye and eager observation; the broad windings of the river, the strange luxuriant foliage and clinging grape-vines that stretched their clustered festoons from tree to tree, the immense flocks of water-fowl they startled as they passed, the bright plumage of the golden oriole, the scarlet soldier-bird and the woodpecker, and the novel notes of the blackbird, robin and whip-poor-will, in which last the imaginative Frenchmen tried to believe they heard the voice of the nightingale once more.

The galleon grounded in Lake St. Peter, and from thence the party proceeded in small boats, between lower and tamer banks, till, on the second of October they approached the beautiful forest-crowned slopes of the hill below which lay the renowned Hochelaga. As they drew near Indians thronged the shore, dancing, singing, and shouting their rude welcome, offering ready gifts of fish and maize, in return for which they joyfully received beads and knives. As the early autumn dusk drew on bonfires blazed up, and they could see the savages performing their wild dances in token of rejoicing.

In the early dawn of the third of October Cartier landed with his men, including the French nobles who accompanied him, in all the splendor of full dress and martial accoutrements. The early morning air was sharp and clear, the ground crisp with hoar-frost, the leaves fast turning to crimson and gold, and the falling acorns were strewn along their forest path.

They were met on the way by an Indian chief—"one of the principal lords of the said city," as the old story calls him—followed by a numerous train. They were received with the usual grave courtesy of the red man, and seated by a fire which had been kindled for their comfort. The chief made them a long address in his own language, and received, with much satisfaction, the gifts of hatchets, knives, and a crucifix which he was asked to kiss, in token of respect. Marching on a little further through the forest they came out on the cleared fields of yellow, rustling maize that encircled the Indian town, of which nothing could be seen, at first, but the protecting palisades. These were three rows deep, after the fashion already

OLD HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY POST NEAR MONTREAL

described, with rude defensive fortifications and ammunition of stones. They enclosed about fifty large oblong huts, made of sapling poles and roofed with bark, each containing several families and several fires—some of them being divided into several rooms surrounding the central one, which contained the social fire, each family having also its own fire. These fifty houses held about a thousand or fifteen hundred inhabitants, so that Hochelaga was at least a respectable village.

In the middle of it was an open square, about a stone's throw in width, and here Cartier and his companions held a conference with the inhabitants, who swarmed out of their huts—men, women and children—to survey and touch the mysterious strangers so unlike anything they had ever before seen or imagined. The women crowded about their visitors in admiration, even touching their beards and moustaches, and holding up their children that they might be touched by these wonderful beings. The men, who were smooth-faced themselves, thought the beards and moustaches very ugly, but they could not resist the impression made by their imposing air, manner and dress.

But the "braves" called the village to order, sent the women and children indoors, and squatted round the French in rows, as if they were going to look at a play. Then the squaws brought mats of plaited rushes and laid them on the ground for the strangers, after which the ruling chief, a helpless paralyzed old man, was carried out on a deer-skin and laid down at Cartier's feet. A red fillet worked in porcupine quills was the only thing that relieved his generally squalid appearance, and betokened his chieftainship. He could not make a dignified oration, like Donnacona; he could only point to his powerless and shrivelled limbs, silently imploring from the white strangers the touch in which Indian superstition supposed a mysterious healing power to lie. Cartier willingly fulfilled the request, though we are not told whether it did any good; and the grateful old man gave him his red fillet in token of his thanks. A throng of sick, lame, infirm and blind people then crowded about the French captain to share the healing touch.

Sorely puzzled what to do, Cartier had recourse to the sign of the Cross, pronouncing over his patients a portion of St. John's Gospel, with a prayer

not only for the healing of their bodies but of their miserable souls as well. Then he read to them from his French Testament, which was probably interpreted to them, the story of the death of Christ, to which they listened with grave attention. After that came what they understood much better—the distribution of gifts; knives and hatchets for the men, gay strings of beads for the women, and for the children little pewter figures for which they scrambled in glee. Then the trumpeters gave a blast from their trumpets that at once amazed and delighted their hosts, after which they bade them a cordial farewell, filing out of the village gates through a crowd of hospitable squaws, who urgently pressed upon their departing visitors fish, beans, corn and other novel food, all of which their guests courteously declined.

Before departing, however, Cartier and his friends ascended the beautiful hill above the village. Delighted with the magnificent view of broad river and boundless forest and distant cloudlike mountain, he called the hill *Mont Royal*—Montreal. This name it has preserved ever since and as this we know the great busy city that has arisen at its base. As Cartier gazed wistfully over the endless masses of autumn-dyed forests that stretched away unbroken to the Gulf of Mexico, the Indians who had guided him told him wonderful tales of the length and breadth of this great river of Hochelaga, of the vast inland seas that lay beyond it, and of another mighty river still farther south, that wound down through softer climes into the land of perpetual summer. About the gold and silver that he most desired to hear of, they could tell him only that copper was to be found up the river Saguenay below Quebec.

Cartier would gladly have pressed on up the enticing river that lay before him, past the foaming rapids whose snowy crests he could see flashing to westward, but he had no means of doing so, and the season was growing late. So, turning his back on the "Royal Mountain" on which he had planted a cross in token of claiming possession for "His Most Christian Majesty," he and his companions began to retrace their way to the ships and the men they had left on the St. Charles. On the way he found some Indians less friendly than those of Hochelaga. He and his party were surprised while

bivouacking on the shore, and but for the intrepid conduct of his English boatswain, might all have been massacred.

At Stadacona Cartier was again kindly received by Donnacona and the Indians, who had now laid up a store of provisions for the long winter. His men had built a palisaded fort round their ships and after his recent experience, Cartier thought it well to be wary in dealing with the savages, whose friendliness might not last, and so strengthened the little fort with some of the guns from his ships.

But now the face of the country was changed indeed. The winds howled through the leafless forest, great masses of ice began to drift down the St. Lawrence, and soon a solid bridge of ice was formed across the mile wide strait. As the snows and keen frosts shut the Frenchmen up in their narrow quarters, all they had formerly known of winter was mild, compared with what they now experienced. Their ships, though not burned, like those of the ancient Greeks, were frozen in and kept them prisoners till spring. Heavy snow-storms blocked up the shore, and the river became a dead white expanse of firm, snow-sheeted ice. Their ships, as well as the forest pines, glittered in a panoply of dazzling snow and sparkling ice, the hulls deep buried in snow drifts, the masts, spars and cordage encased in glittering ice and gleaming with fringes of hanging icicles, while the bulwarks were crusted with four feet of icy mail.

The shivering Frenchmen, accustomed to the sunny mildness of France, and unprovided with warm clothing, clung to the protection of their ships and tried to keep themselves warm beside their fires. The Indians occasionally visited them, coming as Cartier says in his journal, "like so many beasts, wading half-naked in the snow," showing powers of endurance which the "pale-faces" must have thought wonderful. The savages, on the whole, seem to have treated them kindly and shared with them their winter stores.

But a worse foe than cold now attacked the unfortunate explorers. The terrible scurvy broke out among them, and spread until out of the whole band of one hundred and ten only three or four healthy men were left to wait on the sick. The poor sufferers lay in hopeless misery—no doubt

thinking sadly of fair France and the homes and friends they might never see again. Twenty-six died before April, and the survivors, too weak to break through the ice-bound soil, buried the dead in the snow-drifts till spring should return. Their case grew more and more hopeless. Still Cartier did not lose his faith in God, who, as he said, "looked down in pity upon us and sent to us a knowledge of the means of cure," in an unexpected way.

He had been so much afraid lest the Indians should take advantage of their weak state to attack them that he had ordered his men to make all the noise they could with sticks and stones, so that they might be supposed well and hard at work. But one of these poor savages was made the means of saving them. One of their young guides, called Doregaya, who had himself been suffering from scurvy and had recovered, told Cartier of the remedy which had cured him—a decoction from an evergreen called Ameda, supposed to have been the spruce fir. The sick men eagerly tried it, and drank it in such quantities, that in six days they had boiled down a tree as large as a French oak ; and very soon all the invalids were restored to health, courage and hope.

But at last the great snow drifts melted away under the warm spring sunshine, the ice slowly broke up, and the blue water, sparkling in the sunshine, gladdened the eyes of the imprisoned French. Cartier and his men joyfully prepared for departure; but in leaving the country he committed a base and ungrateful act of treachery. During the winter he had heard strange stories from the Indians, of a region where gold and rubies might be found, of a white race like his own, of another able to exist without food, and of still another created with but one leg.

Cartier wanted to take home some trophies of his enterprise, and to have his strange stories confirmed. And as the chief, Donnacona, had traveled far and professed to have seen many wonders, Cartier conceived the wicked project of carrying off by force Donnacona and some of his braves. So, having decoyed them on board his ships he set sail with them, first attaching the French flag to a great cross which he had set up on the shore. This cruel and false act, done under the shadow of the sacred emblem, was a foul

stain on the honor of the brave explorer, and, like most such actions, brought its just recompense in future disaster.

It was five years before Cartier again saw the shores of the New World. France was distracted by wars abroad and religious persecutions at home, and the project of a third expedition met with little favor. The terrors of the severe winter, the death of so many of the exploring party, and the lack of success in finding gold and silver, caused much opposition to the expenditure of more money—and perhaps of life—in what seemed a fruitless undertaking. But there were some who saw the advantage of opening a large fur trade with the savages, and who urged that Spain and Portugal should not be allowed to have all the spoils of the New World to themselves.

At last a great French noble, the Sieur de Roberval, asked the king to make him governor of all the newly discovered countries, with the right of raising a band of volunteers to found a colony; one of the objects of which was stated to be the conversion of the Indians, as "men without knowledge of God or use of reason." Yet Cartier, who was made commander of the expedition, was allowed to take many of his "colonists" out of the French prisons. As the same error was frequently repeated in the French attempts to colonize Canada, it is not surprising that the French trappers and half-breeds should often have been a wild and lawless race.

The Spanish emperor, who claimed the entire country between the Gulf of Mexico and the North Pole, under the name of Florida, made all the opposition he could to the execution of this project But at last the little squadron of five ships lay ready to start, under the old port of St. Malo, awaiting the arrival of some artillery from Roberval. Tired of his weary waiting, Cartier set sail, leaving Roberval to follow. Again the squadron was dispersed by storms, and again the ships were reunited at Newfoundland. As Roberval's vessels were not yet to be seen, Cartier once more entered the Gulf, passed the great, sombre, pine-clad hills, the dark gorge of the Saguenay, the snowy sheet of Montmorency, and the rich woods of the Island of Orleans, and again cast anchor under the grand rock of Quebec. The Stadacona Indians came out quickly in their canoes, anxious to see again the faces of their long-absent friends. Alas! all had died in

France—probably of homesickness. Cartier was afraid to tell the truth, so he said that Donnacona was dead, but that the others had married grand ladies in France, and lived there in state like great lords. The Indians said little, but they probably disbelieved the story, for they showed themselves averse to further intercourse with the French and to their settlement among them.

Finding that this was the case at Stadacona, Cartier sailed some nine miles farther up the St. Lawrence to Cap Rouge, a reddish headland where the high bank of the river divides to let a little stream run out through a green, sheltered glade. Here the party landed, explored the wooded heights and the shady lea, picked up sparkling quartz crystals which they took for diamonds, found a slate quarry, some glittering yellow dust which to them was gold, but which was probably sand mixed with mica, and slender, shining scales of the mica alone.

They rested from their toil in the August heat under the shade of the great forest trees and interlacing grape-vines, and decided to plant their colony on the heights of Cap Rouge. All were soon busily at work clearing the forest and sowing turnip seed, building forts and making roads; while Cartier, leaving Vicomte de Beaupré in command, went on with two boats to explore the river above Hochelaga. But the bright, flashing rapids he had seen from Mont Royal proved an impassable barrier, so he returned to Charlesbourg Royal, as they had grandly named the settlement, to find that there was no news yet of Roberval, and that the Indians still kept aloof.

Once deceived they would not trust the Frenchmen again. A cold, dreary winter followed, with justly estranged Indians around them, and bitter cold chilling their blood and depressing their spirits in this lonely and savage spot. And as soon as spring returned, the disheartened "colonists" hastened to set sail and return to France.

On their way back they passed a fleet of fifteen fishing vessels lying at anchor in the harbor of St. John's, Newfoundland, among which Cartier suddenly descried the long-expected ships of Roberval. Unforeseen obstacles had delayed him, and as he had supposed that by this time the colony was fully established, his surprise and anger were great when he found it on its way homeward. He ordered Cartier to turn back. But Cartier seemed to

have had enough of the projected colony, and, under cover of the darkness, escaped with his vessels, leaving Roberval to pursue his way and found his colony alone.

Cartier had nothing this time to show, save his quartz diamonds, scales of mica and yellow dust. However, he received a patent of nobility for his discoveries, and seems to have settled down quietly in his little manor-house near St. Malo. Some say that he made a fourth voyage to Canada to bring back the luckless colonists of Roberval. He was, on the whole, a brave and gallant explorer, and his name must always be honored as the discoverer of Canada. Both name and fame would have been brighter but for the cruel act of treachery to his Indian friends, which so seriously interfered with the success of the attempted colony, and which was wiped out in after years only by some of the best blood of France. So true is it that

"The evil that men do lives after them."

Cartier seems to have acquired sufficient wealth to retire from the sea. He took up his abode at the seigniorial domain of Limoilou. In 1549 he was honored with the title of Sieur de Limoilou, and it is said that in the following year he was made a noble. In 1557 a plague visited the north of France and swept away many of the inhabitants, and among those who died was Jacques Cartier, the great discoverer of Canada.

CHAPTER II.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

By AGNES MAULE MACHAR.

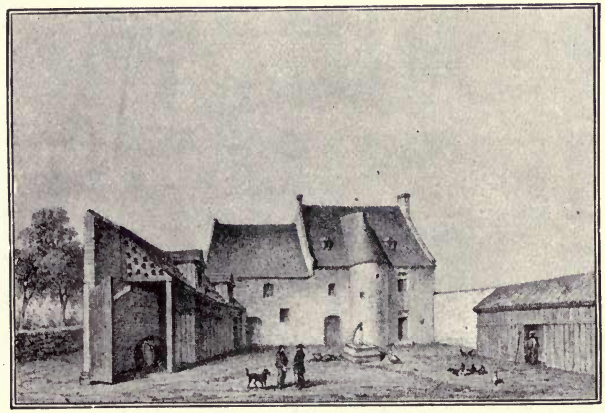
Champlain a Favorite with the King—His Travels in the West Indies and Mexico—Chosen by De Chastes for an Expedition to Canada—Sails for the New World—Visits Quebec and Mont Royal—Learns of the Great Inland Seas—Returns to France—Sails for Acadia—Winters on the St. Croix—Sufferings of the Colony—Settles at Port Royal (Annapolis)—The Romantic Life of the Colony—Port Royal Abandoned—Champlain at Quebec—Builds a Wooden Fortress—Champlain Assists Indian Allies Against the Iroquois—Visits Lake Champlain and Lake George—A Fight with the Indians—Champlain Sails for France—Back in Canada—Exploring the West—Wounded in Battle with the Iroquois—Descends the Lachine Rapids—Goes to France in the Colony's Interests—In Canada Once More—A Wild Goose Chase up the Ottawa—Journeys Through the Country of the Hurons—Spends the Winter in the Wilderness Near Kingston—Puts Forth His Energy to Build up New France—Brings His Wife to Canada—The Jesuit Fathers Reach Quebec—The Company of the "Hundred Associates" Formed—David Kirke Attacks the Colony—The English Flag Floats over Champlain's Fortress—Champlain Taken to London—Quebec Restored to the French—Champlain Dies on Christmas Day, 1635.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, the most picturesque of the early makers of Canada, was born at the sea-port town of Brouage on the Bay of Biscay in 1567.

By profession he was a naval officer, but had seen much service on land, and had fought with distinction for his king in Brittany.

When De Chastes, the good old Governor of Dieppe, went to court to beg from King Henry his patent of authority in Canada, he found there young Samuel de Champlain, a great favorite with the king on account of his brave deeds in Brittany. His adventurous spirit had already led him to make a hazardous voyage of discovery to the West Indies; and notwithstanding the determination of the jealous Spaniards to keep out foreigners on pain of death, he managed to visit Panama and the principal islands, and to penetrate as far as the city of Mexico. He brought back with him a journal of his travels, illustrated with colored sketches of his own, and this, with his

VIEW OF ST. MALO



CARTIER'S MANOR HOUSE

CARTIER'S SHIPS

INTERESTING SCENES IN LIFE OF JACQUES CARTIER

lively narrative of the things he had seen, excited great interest at court. De Chastes was delighted with the young captain, whom he felt to be the very man he needed to help him in his enterprise, and begged him to accept a post in his new company. This the eager explorer, securing the king's consent, was delighted to do. Champlain was soon ready to start with Pontgravé on a preliminary exploring tour in two small vessels which—small as they seemed—carried in them the hope of the New France, soon to arise in the wilderness.

As they passed through the Straits of Belle Isle and sailed up the Gulf, Champlain's quick, observant eye noted all he saw, with an attention that stood him in good stead in after years. The great shaggy hills, wooded from base to summit, unfolded themselves in a long succession of grand curves, as the Gulf narrowed into the river—filling him with admiration and a desire to go up and possess this goodly land. He noted the lonely little niche among the rugged, fir-tufted rocks that guard the mouth of the sombre Saguenay—the site of the abandoned settlement of Tadousac. Passing by the Isle aux Coudres, and the Island of Orleans, Champlain's eye marked with keen interest the commanding rock of Quebec, his future fortress, and the Gibraltar of Canada.

Sailing onward still between more gently sloping shores and leaving behind them the grand vista of mountain summits that encompass Quebec, they followed the winding river till they reached the spot where, sixty-eight years before, Cartier had found the Indian town of Hochelaga, lying at the foot of Mount Royal. The beautiful hill and its glorious view of forest, river and mountain were unaltered; but the Indian village had disappeared. By ravages of war or pestilence, the earlier Mohawk population had been swept away, and only a few wandering Algonquins, of different race and lineage, were now to be seen. Like Cartier, Champlain tried to force his way up the white flashing rapids of Lachine; but their resistless sweep was too much for paddle and pole and even for Champlain's determination; and the attempt had to be given up. His Indian assistants to console him, drew on the deck of his ship a rude map of the upper portion of the great river, with the rapids and islands, and the chain of sea-like lakes at its eastern

extremity. They gave him, too, some confused description of the grand cataract of Niagara, mentioned for the first time in his great map as a "very high rapid, in descending which many kinds of fish are stunned."

Champlain, unsatisfied, was obliged to return to France, preparing on his way a chart and narrative of his voyage and observations for the benefit of the king and De Chastes, the patron of the enterprise. But the good old governor, who desired to devote his last days to the conversion of the Indians, had died during his absence King Henry, however, was much interested in the story, and ere long a new aspirant appeared for the honor of founding the colony. This was the Sieur de Monts, a Huguenot gentleman holding a high position at Court. He received the title of Lieutenant-General in Acadie, with vice-regal powers and a monopoly of the fur-traffic in the large region then first called by that name, including a large part of Canada and the Northern United States.

The fur-traders of Normandy were naturally discontented at losing the privileges which they had previously enjoyed; but De Monts wisely removed their jealousy by making them his partners in the enterprise. And so, in spite of the opposition of the king's minister, Sully, who had little faith in the settlement of such a savage wilderness, the expedition was organized, including some of the chief merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, Dieppe and Rochelle. Four large ships were fitted out, two of them as a coast-guard, to seize all other trading vessels, while the other two were to carry the colonists to their new home

Unhappily M. de Monts—able, experienced and patriotic as he was—continued to act on the mistaken plan of taking emigrants by force from the vagabonds and criminals of the community. But he had also eager and chivalrous volunteers of the noble blood of France, impelled either by love of adventure or the desire to restore fortunes ruined by the civil wars. Some, too, were glad of the chance of escaping from the increasing pressure of royal power, so intolerable to the proud and haughty barons of that age.

One of these, the Baron de Poutrincourt, was a leading spirit in the expedition, inspired by Champlain's glowing descriptions, and anxious to settle with his family in a country where royal prerogative seemed as yet

unknown. There were also, among the emigrants, skilled artisans, and Huguenot ministers, as well as Roman Catholic priests. The former were not to be allowed to act as missionaries to the Indians, for though De Monts was himself a Protestant, he could not procure for his fellow Protestants toleration in America any more than in France, except on the condition that they should not try to make converts. Notwithstanding this, however, the priests and ministers had many keen discussions during the voyage, in which all occasionally lost their temper.

M. de Monts, dreading the severe winters of which he had heard so much, steered his ships farther south along the shore of Acadia, where it is now called Nova Scotia, a land rich in minerals and fur-bearing animals. In a bay near Cape La Hêve, De Monts found and confiscated a French trader, pursuing the fur-traffic, probably in ignorance of the proclamation which made it illegal. The name of its captain, Rossignol, was given to the bay, now Liverpool Harbor. Another bay took the name of Port Mouton, from a poor sheep that leaped overboard there while they were waiting for Pontgravé's store-ship. It appeared at last, laden with the spoils of four more fur-traders, and supplying the other ships, passed up to Tadousac to procure more furs from the Indians.

As the expedition rounded Cape Sable and entered a bay, afterwards called St. Mary's Bay, a party landed to explore the neighborhood. One of the party was a priest called Nicholas Aubry, who strolled a little way off by himself through the primeval forest where everything was so new and interesting. It was a warm day in June, and the priest who was tired and thirsty after his long ramble, stopped to drink from a clear stream, flowing invitingly through the tangled woods. When he overtook his companions he found he had forgotten to pick up the sword which he carried and had laid down on the grass. Going back to look for it, he lost his way in the confusing and trackless wood. In vain he tried to find his way out, and in vain his alarmed comrades sought and called him. The woods rang with his name, trumpets were blown and cannon fired from the ship ; but all in vain. As often befalls wanderers in the woods, the lost man wandered farther away in the wrong direction. His comrades gave up the search and

departed, even suspecting foul play on the part of a Huguenot fellow-passenger, whose vehement denials could not remove this horrible suspicion.

The ships sailed away at last to explore the great Bay of Fundy, while the poor priest was left an unwilling hermit—to wander disconsolate through the forest mazes, living on such wild fruits as he could find, "his drink the crystal rill," and his bed—not a bad one in June—a couch of soft moss under some overshadowing oak or hemlock.

His comrades almost forgot him in the interest of coasting along the shores of the yellow Bay of Fundy, called by M. de Monts La Baie Française. Entering a small inlet, they suddenly found themselves in a beautiful and spacious harbor, lined with green, forest-clad slopes and watered by winding rivers that broke out into snowy waterfalls as they found their way into the sea. The Baron de Poutrincourt was charmed with the sylvan beauty of the scene, and at once obtained from De Monts a grant of the place, which he called Port Royal, intending it to be his future home.

It seems strange that De Monts did not at once fix on this inviting site for his colony. But, like many another adventurer, he went farther and fared worse. Not wishing to risk wintering without defense among unknown Indians, they sailed along the shores of New Brunswick, discovered and named the river St. John, and ended their cruise amid the numberless islands of Passamaquoddy Bay. In the centre of its curve a broad river flowed quietly out among rocks and shoals from low, wooded banks. Champlain gave the name of St. Croix to it and to an islet within its mouth. On this they determined to plant their colony, close to what is now the boundary between Canada and the United States. It was a long, narrow island, some ten acres in extent—its grassy covering springing from a barren and sandy soil, with a fringe of straggling bushes and stunted cedars. This bleak and uninviting site was too hastily chosen; simply because it commanded the river and could be easily fortified.

All hands were soon at work, except a small party who went back to St. Mary's Bay, in search of gold and silver. As they neared the shore they noticed a small black object set up on a pole. It turned out to be the hat of

the lost priest, whom they soon discovered, starved and emaciated, after sixteen days of solitude and involuntary fast.

The exploring party, having found their lost comrade, instead of precious metal, returned with him to the busy settlers at St. Croix. There, nobles, artisans and sailors were busy making the most of the late summer and autumn days. Before winter set in their buildings and defenses were completed. A fort, crowning a knoll at one end, and a battery set on a rock at the other, provided against dangers that never arose in the short history of St. Croix.

Around the fort clustered the dwellings, storehouses, chapel, barracks and magazine, forming a square shaded by a solitary tree. The spacious mansion of De Monts was surmounted by an enormous roof, and behind it was a long gallery for use in bad weather. Champlain built his house himself, as did D'Orville, with the help of his servants. A great baking oven of burnt brick completed the establishment, which, of course, was surrounded by palisades. Near the church was a cemetery, only too much needed during the dismal winter. This "*Abitation de St. Croix*" may still be seen in Champlain's drawings, though every trace of building, except the old moss-grown foundations, have long since vanished.

The work of building finished, the Baron de Poutrincourt sailed for France, to make preparations for settling in his new domain of Port Royal. After his departure, the population of St. Croix numbered seventy-nine men, including a number of cavaliers with the viceroy at their head, priests and Huguenot ministers, servants, laborers, artisans and soldiers.

It was a busy little community—the only European settlement in all the vast and savage continent north of the Spanish settlements. As the late and shortening sunshine of October faded away, and the gloomy November days darkened over the sombre mountains, the shivering Frenchmen began to feel the full force of the dreary and rigorous winter that had proved so fatal to every previous attempt to found a Canadian colony. If the cold was not quite so severe as on the St. Lawrence, the season was not less dismal. The rapid river became clogged with cakes of ice, shutting them out from all their supplies of wood and water derived from the mainland. The leafless forests

and the pine-clad mountains—wrapped in a dreary mantle of snow—looked bleak and desolate, when the bitter north winds swept down upon the islands, driving the whirling snow-drifts before them. The belt of cedars had been spared for the slight shelter it afforded, but still the keen, penetrating winds found easy entrance through the rudely-built dwellings, not half-warmed by scanty fires. Even cider and wine were served out frozen, and measured by the pound.

The long-continued suffering from cold had its natural effect, not only on the spirits, but on the constitutions of the settlers. The inevitable scourge of scurvy broke out and carried off nearly half the colonists. The tree of healing, of which they had heard from the narrative of Jacques Cartier, was not to be found near St. Croix; at least they sought it in vain. Most of the survivors were reduced to the last stage of exhaustion; and despair and despondency reigned supreme in the hearts of the settlers, save only in the dauntless breast of Champlain, while a camp of Indians on their island, as to whose friendliness they were uncertain, kept them in constant anxiety.

But with the lengthening days and cheering sights and sounds of returning spring, the diminished and forlorn band began to feel hope and courage revive. When the snow had disappeared, and the cry of the wild fowl, the balmy breezes and budding vegetation began to herald the approaching summer to the eyes of the waiting company, they, weary of their long, lonely exile, anxiously scanned the horizon in search of the returning sails of Poutrincourt, bringing reinforcements and succor. But the baron was meeting with unexpected difficulties at home, and it was the ship of Pontgravé, coming from Tadousac, that at last, on the 16th of June, gladdened their eyes, and cast anchor in the harbor with a reinforcement of forty men.

Privation and suffering had, by this time, made the viceroy weary of St. Croix, and he lost no time in setting out with Champlain on a voyage of discovery, anxious to find a more attractive and favorable site for the capital of his colony. The exploring party included, besides De Monts and Champlain, several gentlemen, twenty sailors, and an Indian with his squaw. The expedition coasted along the rock-bound and indented shores of Maine,

where, fifteen years later, the "Men of the Mayflower" were to found New England.

They penetrated into the deep bays and among the picturesque headlands and islands, landing daily, exchanging presents with the Indians, and examining the natural products of the country; while Champlain observed, sketched, made charts and took notes, describing with the closest accuracy all that he saw, from the round, mat-covered wigwams of the Indians to the appearance and habits of the horse-shoe crab.

The Indians seem to have been much more numerous than when the Puritans, a few years later, landed at Plymouth, and they cultivated the art of agriculture to a considerable extent, for around their wigwams were patches of corn, beans, squashes, esculent roots and tobacco.

Champlain had been over part of the ground before, in the previous September, when he had visited and named Mount Desert, and entered the river Penobscot, then bearing the name of Norembega, in common with the whole surrounding region.

Passing southward along a coast, now thickly dotted with favorite and fashionable watering places, the explorers extended their cruise beyond Cape Cod, into an inlet full of sand-bars, which they called Cape Malabar. And here occurred the first collision of the white man with the Indians, with whom all their intercourse had previously been most peaceable. It arose out of a squabble in which the Indians were the aggressors. One of them snatched a kettle from a sailor, going to bring water from a spring, and, as he pursued the thief, he fell, pierced with arrows. The French at once fired from their vessel, and Champlain was nearly killed by the bursting of his own arquebuse, while the savages swiftly fled to the woods.

Thus the first blood was drawn, and the first shots fired of the long and bitter conflict between the red man and the white; while the incident showed the uncertain hold of peace and friendship with these wild and undisciplined tribes.

As August approached, the voyagers found their provisions failing and returned to St. Croix, having discovered no site that altogether pleased the leader. But another winter at St. Croix was not to be thought of, and

De Monts remembered the tranquil beauty of Port Royal, as Poutrincourt had called the domain granted to him, and now known as Annapolis Basin. Thither, accordingly, across the Bay of Fundy, was transported everything they could carry, including stores, utensils, and even portions of the buildings which had composed the *"Abitation de St. Croix."*

The work of "clearing" the new site went vigorously on, and soon a new settlement arose in the forest encircling the beautiful harbor. But still there was no sign of Poutrincourt's return, and ere long the viceroy heard bad news from France of obstacles thrown in the way of his enterprise by those who were aggrieved by the monopoly. In order to help Poutrincourt to overcome these difficulties, M. de Monts sailed for France, leaving Pontgravé to command at Port Royal, where Champlain and other undaunted spirits were resolved to dare another winter of peril and privation.

In the fair and sheltered haven of Port Royal it did not take the colonists long to create a new home, partly built of the dismantled buildings of St. Croix, and somewhat on the same plan. The winter was milder here, but it did not pass without suffering, though less from cold than from lack of food. The settlers had only a hand-mill for grinding their corn, and bread. was, consequently, scarce. De Monts was away in France, fighting for the colony against the indifference and prejudices of even its friends, and the active hostility of its enemies. Poutrincourt, despite urgent business in France, speedily returned to Canada, bringing with him his enthusiastic and poetic friend Marc Lescarbot, who was said to be as well able to build up a colony as to write its history. He explained the impulse that led him to the New World in the true and noble words: "God awaketh us sometimes to stir up the generous actions such as be these voyages." His active and vigorous mind and quick observations proved of great service in promoting the interests of the colony, as well as in writing an interesting and poetical history of its career.

It was only, however, after many obstacles had been surmounted, that Poutrincourt and Lescarbot, a poet and dreamer, with their band of laborers and mechanics, were able to sail from Rochelle, in a ship bearing the rather curious name of "Jonas." De Monts remained in France for a time to do

FRANCOIS, DUC DE LÉVIS
MARSHAL OF FRANCE
Second in Command under Montcalm

LIEUT.-GENERAL J. GRAVES SIMCOE
Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, 1792-96

what he could there for the interests of the colony, as one of the complaints of its enemies was that nothing had yet been done for the conversion of the Indians. But the zeal for the Mission in New France had yet to be awakened.

The voyage was long and tedious; it extended to two months by reason of the dense fogs that descended upon them as they neared land. Suddenly, however, the sun broke through the veil of mist, revealing to the delighted Lescarbot the fair face of the New World, bright in the July sunshine. He poetically described their first experiences, while a line of white breakers still lay between them and the shore: "While we followed on our course, there came from the land odors incomparable for sweetness, brought with a warm wind so abundantly that all the Orient parts could not produce greater abundance. We did stretch out our hands, as it were, to take them, so palpable were they, which I have admired a thousand times since."

Sailing into the calm harbor of Port Royal, the "Jonas" soon reached the spot where, amid the deep green of the almost unbroken forest, were clustered the wooden buildings of the little colony. They saw no sign of human existence till an old Indian appeared cautiously paddling a birch canoe. Then a Frenchman, armed with his arquebuse, came down to the shore, and at the same moment a shot rang out from the little wooden fort. But the white flag at the mast reassured the two lonely Frenchmen who were left on guard in the absence of their comrades, gone to look for French fishing vessels and secure supplies.

The long-imprisoned emigrants leaped on shore, eager to explore the new land, and the lately silent settlement soon rang with the merry voices and exuberant hilarity of the Frenchmen—rendered all the greater by a hogshead of wine which M. Poutrincourt opened in the courtyard. Meantime one of Poutrincourt's boats, exploring the coast, met Pontgravé and his men, who returned at once to greet the newcomers.

Soon, however, the party again divided. Pontgravé sailed back to France in the ship "Jonas," looking out for contraband fur-traders on the way. Poutrincourt started with Champlain on another voyage of discovery, which occupied two months. It proved very fruitless, and was at last cut short by the autumn gales. Unhappily, its chief incident was a collision

with the Indians, who surprised the party by night and killed two out of five who were camped on the shore. The others fled to their tents under a shower of arrows from four hundred Indians, "bristling like porcupines," as Champlain's quaint pencil had sketched them. He and the other men, awaked by their cries, rushed to the rescue, charging and dispersing the yelling assailants. "So," as Lescarbot put it, "did thirty-five thousand Midianites fly before Gideon and his three hundred."

The winter that followed was a cheery one, with a very different record from that of the miserable winters previously spent by Frenchmen in Canada. The cavaliers shot game in abundance, so that the settlers had bounteous stores of provisions and a generous supply of wine. Their quarters were tolerably comfortable—a quadrangle of wooden buildings inclosing a wide court, flanked by armed bastions made of palisades, and containing their large dining hall and lodgings, kitchen forge and baking oven, magazines and storehouses. From an arched gateway at one corner a short path led to to the water.

In order to produce a little variety in their solitary and monotonous life, as well as to secure a regular provision for their table, Champlain organized the famous Order of a Good Time (*L'Ordre de Bon-Temps*). The Knights were fifteen in number, and a Grand Master or Steward was appointed for each day, whose duty it was to provide for the table of the company. In order to do this creditably, and add a new dish daily, the knights, in turn, worked energetically, supplying the board partly by their own exertions in hunting and fishing, partly by barter with the Indians. By this means the company fared sumptuously every day.

With good food and good spirits to keep them well, the scurvy touched the colony very lightly; four men, however, sunk under the influence of the winter's cold. But with returning spring all was activity once more. Even before the winter was over, the knights took a six-mile tramp, to see if their autumn-sown corn were sprouting under the snow, and there, on a bright, balmy winter day, they picnicked gaily in January. But now fields and gardens were enclosed, and soon building and carpentering went on with energy, and the nets of the fishers gathered in an abundance of herring and

other fish. Lescarbot gardened indefatigably, writing his history in the intervals of toil, and even Poutrincourt went to the woods to collect turpentine and manufacture it into tar by a process of his own invention.

The colonists were much assisted by an old chief called Membertou, who became their staunch friend and ally. He was, unlike the Indians generally, bearded like a Frenchman, and was said to have been a cruel and treacherous warrior, notwithstanding his kindness to the French. But the busy life of the colony suddenly came to an unexpected close.

One fine spring morning, Membertou's keen eyes discovered a distant sail. The colonists hailed the sight gladly, supposing it to be the long expected vessel of De Monts. But it was a bearer of bad news. The discontented fur-traders who had been shut out of the fur trade, had combined, by money and influence to secure the withdrawal of De Monts' patent of monopoly. This was a death blow to the colony, as the projects of the company would no longer bear the expense of it; and Port Royal must be abandoned.

Lescarbot, before leaving, celebrated in verse a warlike expedition of Membertou and his Indians. He went first, leaving with a heavy heart the corn-fields and gardens he had redeemed from the wilderness. Poutrincourt remained to the last with Champlain, to see how the crops would turn out, following the rest of the expedition in an open boat to the rendezvous in the harbor of Canseau.

In October the whole of the little colony was on its way to France, Poutrincourt alone cherishing the determination to return to the place which he claimed as his own. Though coming to an untimely end, this colony had at least left memories of kindness and good-will with the Indians, who bitterly lamented the departure of their friends, and entreated them to hasten their expected return.

It might seem strange that during all the future eventful and tragic career of Port Royal, the gallant Champlain had no further part or lot in its fortunes. But he had by no means given up the project that was so near his heart. Champlain was specially fitted by nature to be the leader of a colony in a new country. He was a born explorer and knight-errant;

dauntless, romantic, sagacious, observant, and eager to discover all the unknown wonders that the New World could unfold. No danger could check his enthusiasm, and no hardship could exhaust his endurance.

As had been said, when the young sailor of thirty set out with Pontgravé on his exploring tour, he had already won distinction on the field of battle, as well as through his voyage to the West Indies, Mexico and Panama, then under jealous Spanish rule. He first conceived the idea of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama, "Whereby the voyage to the South Sea would be shortened by more than fifteen hundred leagues." Ease and inaction at home would have been intolerable while the adventure and romance of the New World were tempting him abroad. But he had been strongly attracted to another part of that wide unoccupied land—to the shores of the great hill-girt river which had first lured him inland from the sea.

De Monts, who had not given up his cherished project of founding a great colony, succeeded in securing from the king the renewal, for one year, of the monopoly so necessary to maintain the enterprise, and Champlain gladly undertook to aid him in carrying out his plan.

In the year after his departure from Port Royal he was again following the trading-vessel of Pontgravé up the St. Lawrence. Once more passing the lonely fir-clad hills, he reached the rugged nook of Tadousac with the now deserted trading post under its shadowing crags. Rounding the point at its entrance, called from its frequent storms the *Pointe de tous les Diables*, he there came upon Pontgravé's ship engaged in a skirmish with a Basque trading-vessel which had been challenged there, and which had taken away his cannon.

Champlain's arrival turned the tables and brought the Basques to terms, and sent them to the more legitimate task of catching whales. He then went on his way leaving the rocky bay and its cluster of wigwams belonging to the Montagnais Indians, who used to bring cargoes of furs in their bark canoes down the dark canons of the deep and wild Saguenay, above which Cape Trinity then, as now, raised its wild, weather-beaten cliffs to the stars.

Champlain held on his course, passing the green island of Orleans and the white fall of Montmorency, till the bold promontory of Quebec rose above

the winding river, here narrowed to a mile in width. This spot, at once commanding and picturesque, his observant eye had long since chosen for his intended fortress.

There was no Indian village there. All was silent and deserted. The bare and lonely rock overlooked an unbroken solitude where to-day the visitor's eye looks out upon piles of buildings and stately spires, rows of shipping and darting steamboats, upon a wide stretch of long cornfields and meadows dotted with white cottages and gleaming villages clustered round their church steeples, sprinkled over the purple distance, while all around closes the vista of gray misty hills, which are the only unchanged features.

But the view of dark unbroken forest, winding river and purple hills was a charming one even then; and, here, in the shadow of the great rock, Champlain decided to found his settlement. The place was called by the wandering Algonquins, Quebec or *Kebec*—a word meaning a strait—and Champlain kept the old name. It happens thus that the traveler who enters Canada by the St. Lawrence, finds in the names of the first three cities on his way, Quebec, Montreal and Kingston, memorials of the three races which have successively held the country in the order of their succession.

Champlain was not, at first, so ambitious as to plant his eyrie on the frowning height above, but set his men at once to clear away the walnut trees that covered the strip of land at its foot. In a short time they had built a sort of wooden fortress surrounded by a loop-holed gallery, and enclosing three buildings ready for occupation. A tall dove-cote like a belfry, rose from the courtyard, and a moat, with two or three primitive cannon, completed its defenses; a magazine being built close by. Champlain had his garden, too, and enjoyed cultivating his roses as well as his vegetables, where now the Champlain market presents its busy scene, and the little weather-beaten church of *Notre Dame des Victoires* still stands as a memorial of the early days of Quebec.

The only misadventure during the building of the fort was a conspiracy which had nearly cut short Champlain's career and the history of the settlement. The Spanish and Basque traders at Tadousac made use of a traitorous locksmith named Duval, to persuade most of the colonists to betray

the settlement into their hands and murder the brave leader. But one of the men who was to assist Duval in the plot, becoming conscience-stricken, confessed the whole to Champlain, who with great readiness and presence of mind succeeded in arresting the four ringleaders. The greater number of the men had been frightened into joining in the conspiracy and were relieved at the discovery. Champlain generously pardoned them, but Duval was executed and the other ringleaders were sent to the French galleys.

In September Pontgravé went to France with his load of furs, leaving Champlain with twenty-eight men to brave the terrors of the winter, so fatal to the parties of Cartier and Roberval. The cold did not seem quite so severe, possibly because Champlain and his men were better housed and fed. Yet, nevertheless, out of the twenty-eight eight only survived till spring, the rest having fallen victims to the inevitable scurvy which had broken out toward the close of the winter. And of these eight four were still suffering from this horrible malady.

There was little to break the monotony of the short winter days and long nights. Champlain sometimes amused himself by trapping foxes, and watching the hungry martens as they sought for fragments in the vicinity of the settlement.

Once a little excitement was caused by the appearance of a band of famished Algonquins who were collected on the opposite side of the river which was choked up with cakes of drifted ice. It seemed a desperate venture to cross in such circumstances, but the poor creatures were starving and hoped to get food from the French strangers. Champlain with anxious eyes watched them launch their frail canoes, one after another, only to be crushed between the grinding masses of ice. However, even then their agility saved them. They all leaped upon a moving sheet of ice, the squaws —weak and emaciated as they were—carrying their children on their shoulders, a feat that excited Champlain's astonishment. Standing on this frail support they began to utter wails of despair, expecting inevitable destruction. But their strange raft was unexpectedly driven upon the shore, where, worn almost to skeletons, they came up to the fort to beg for food. Champlain willingly gave them all he could spare but it was not easy to

satisfy the poor creatures who were so famished that they seized and ate even the frozen carcass of a dog that had been lying for months on the snow.

Before the winter was over Champlain had another visit from Indians; this time a band of Montagnais who were living in huts near Quebec. The Indians were always much disturbed by dreams, and these had been excited and terrified by nightmare visions of fearful encounters with their enemies, the Iroquois. Their superstitious dread drove them to come to the fort to beg shelter for the night. Champlain pitied their terror, but thought it more prudent to take only the women and children into the fort, while the men remained watching and shivering without.

At last, however, the dreary winter was over and gone; the snow gradually disappeared, and the soft breezes, the swelling buds and opening flowers cheered the drooping spirits of the eight survivors. Champlain's iron constitution alone had been proof against the frightful scurvy. With a band so enfeebled there was nothing to be done but to wait for Pontgravé's return.

It was a welcome sight when, at last, a sail rounded the Island of Orleans, bringing Pontgravé's son-in-law with the news that he himself was at Tadousac. Thither Champlain hastened to meet him and discuss his intended voyage of discovery. It was his cherished hope to realize the dream of a short passage to India and China, and he desired as ardently to gain influence over the Indians and convert them to the true faith, which, he said, would be a nobler achievement than taking a continent. To these aims his life was devoted.

But to his exploring zeal there was a formidable barrier. These vast forests were infested by a ferocious Indian tribe called the Five Nations or Iroquois, warlike and powerful, whose tomahawks were ever ready for action, and to whom an explorer must almost certainly fall a victim, sooner or later. The other tribes lived in constant terror of these fierce savages who knew neither fear nor pity. It seems, at first sight, strange that Champlain, so desirous of carrying the gospel of love to the Indian tribes, should himself have taken the first step toward beginning a deadly warfare. But he was a soldier to the core as well as a born explorer, and the path of discovery seemed to him a war-path as well.

The Huron and Algonquin tribes, with which he had been on such friendly terms, pleaded with him, not in vain, to help them to overcome the strong foes they so much feared. And he naturally believed that if he could do them this service he would gain over them great influence which he could use to promote both his cherished projects. He had little idea, however, of the power and numbers of the savages whose enmity he so rashly provoked.

It was in the middle of May, 1609, that Champlain set out with a war party of Montagnais, bent on ascending, under their guidance the *Rivière des Iroquois* as the River Richelieu was then called. Before starting, the Indians held their war-dance, with which they began all such expeditions. They lighted a huge camp fire, decked themselves in paint and feathers, brandished their war-clubs, lances and stone hatchets, while their discordant yells blended with the hollow boom of their drums and woke the echoes from the frowning cliff above.

The eager explorer soon found how little he could depend on the aid of his new allies. They encamped for two days on the way, and quarrelled, the greater number going back in disgust to their homes. He found, too, that the ascent of the stream was barred by rocky ledges, over which the white, surging rapids dashed with furious force. He was obliged to send home his own boat and men, keeping only two Frenchmen with him, while the Indian warriors carried their canoes through the tangled forests to the smooth stream above. Then they re-embarked and paddled on their way, stopping at night to entrench themselves behind a barricade, when the chief would instruct his followers how to form their ranks in battle, by setting up an army of sticks called by their respective names, each in the position to be taken before the enemy.

At last, however, Champlain had the satisfaction of entering the beautiful lake that still bears his name, and gazed with delight upon its bright expanse and its grand setting of mountain summits. Its shores were the hunting grounds of the fierce Iroquois, and the valley of New York state beyond it was dotted with the palisaded villages that formed their strongholds. To pass from Lake Champlain to Lake George and thence by portage to the Hudson, and attack the Mohawks in their home, was the plan

JEROME LE ROYER DE LA DAUVERSIERE

PAUL CHOMEDEY DE MAISONNEUVE

of the Indian warriors, provided they did not meet the enemy on the way.

But at Crown Point, afterwards noted in the warfare of the white man, this expedition of red men discovered at night fall, through the dusk, a flotilla of the Iroquois canoes. Dark as it was the enemies recognized each other with savage war-cries. The Iroquois landed close by and labored all night, as Champlain could see, at the work of entrenching themselves behind a barricade, made of trees felled on the spot. Champlain's allies lashed their canoes together with poles and danced and shouted till morning broke.

The three Frenchmen lay concealed, each in his canoe, till the critical moment approached. When the attacking canoes reached the shore and their owners landed, Champlain could see some two hundred tall, strong Indian warriors advancing from the forests to meet them, some of them wearing a primative kind of armor made of interwoven twigs, or shields of wood and hide, while the chiefs could be distinguished by the tall plumes on their heads. As they approached the attacking Indians called for their gallant defender, who came forward before the astonished Indians in the garb of a French soldier, and fired his arquebuse. As its report resounded two of the Iroquois warriors fell. The savages replied with a yell and showers of arrows, but shots in rapid succession soon broke their advance into a retreat, and they fled in terror and confusion.

The victory was complete but the tortures inflicted on their prisoners by the Indians sickened the heart of Champlain, who remonstrated indignantly, but in vain. Then, satisfied with this successful skirmish, and probably fearing speedy vengeance, the party turned their canoes toward home. At the mouth of the Richelieu the expedition broke up, the Hurons and Algonquins steering for the Ottawa, while Champlain accompanied the Montagnais to Tadousac, where the squaws danced in glee to celebrate their victory, and swam out to their canoes to receive the heads of their slain enemies.

Champlain soon sailed for France with Pontgravé and carried to King Henry a belt embroidered in dyed porcupine quills, and two bright plumaged Canadian birds as trophies of his adventures, while he entertained him with his lively account of them. De Monts was trying to secure the

renewal of his monopoly, but, failing in this, he pluckily determined to go on without it.

Early in the following spring Champlain and Pontgravé sailed again for New France. As usual, they found greedy fur-traders busy at Tadousac and on the Saguenay, exhausting the supplies so much needed for the support of the colony.

Champlain had various schemes for exploring expeditions ready to carry into action. One of these was to go with the Hurons to see the great lakes and near them the copper mines, which they had promised to show him. They met accordingly at a rendezvous on the Richelieu. But while they were preparing for a dance and a feast, a canoe came, swiftly paddled toward them, bearing the news that a battle was going on in the forest between Algonquins and Iroquois. Champlain's Montagnais friends rushed to their canoes, taking Champlain with them and on landing bounded off through the woods like hounds after their prey. Champlain and his friends pressed on through the forest jungle as best they might, stumbling over fallen trees and entangling vines, wading through swamps, persecuted by legions of mosquitoes, until at last they came within hail of their forgetful guides.

Champlain was wounded in the battle that followed; but he fought on undaunted, assisted by some young Frenchmen from a fur-trader's ship in the neighborhood, and again won the day for his Indian allies. Again the fiendish tortures began and all Champlain could do was to save one prisoner from the ferocity of the victors.

The allies rejoiced that a heavy blow had been dealt to their enemies, and a great band of Hurons who arrived next day were terribly vexed that they had come too late for the fray. The tumultuous savages celebrated their success with songs and dances, and then set out for home in their canoes, decorated with ghastly scalps, without a thought of following up the blow they had struck. Neither did Champlain insist on their guiding him on to the great lakes he had set out to reach. For startling tidings from France seemed, for the time, to drive these projects from his mind.

Henry the Fourth had fallen beneath the dagger of Ravaillac. This was sad news for the hopes of Quebec, sad news for those of Port Royal.

Champlain must hasten home to look after the interests of his colony. Regretfully he left once more his post at Quebec, with his fields and gardens and vineyards redeemed from the wilderness; and exchanged his forays with the wild warriors of the forest for unsuccessful pleadings at court, which were much less to his taste. He could not protect the interests of the colony on which he had spent so much labor, from the descent of swarms of fur-traders who bought up the skins which were all they cared about, and so exhausted the colony's only means of existense. When he returned, in the following spring, thirteen of them followed in his wake, ready to reap the profit of his labors.

Champlain, however, had learned that patience and perseverance can do much toward success, and, undiscouraged, he chose a site for a new trading post at the foot of the beautiful Mont Royal, where he thought he could establish a trade with the great tribes of the interior as they came down from the Ottawa. Not far from the place where had once stood the Indian town of Hochelaga, on a spot now covered by the massive stone warehouses of Montreal, he cleared a site for his trading-post, and built a wall of bricks of his own manufacture to preserve it from damage by the "ice shove" in the spring. He called it *Place Royale.* The hospital of the Grey Nuns occupies a part of the *Place.*

At this appointed rendezvous a band of Hurons were the first to arrive, paddling their canoes down the dashing surges of the Lachine rapids, then called the rapids of St. Louis. They invited Champlain to visit their country, buy their beavers, build a fort, teach them the true faith—do anything he liked, only they begged him to keep the greedy fur-traders away. They disliked and distrusted them, thinking that they meant to plunder and to kill them. Champlain did all he could to reassure them, and went to visit them at their camp on Lake St. Louis, from whence they conveyed him down the rapids in their canoes; the third white man to descend the Lachine Rapids.

Once more visiting France to consult with M. de Monts, Champlain succeeded in finding a new and powerful patron for New France in Henry of Bourbon, who became its protector. Champlain, however, continued to be

the moving spring of its life. In order to secure his two-fold aim of converting the Indians, and finding a short passage to China, he needed the profits of the fur-trade, but he did not wish to keep these entirely to himself. He was willing to share them with the traders, and he now offered them a chance of joining the new company. The offer was accepted by the merchants of St. Malo and Rouen, but refused by those of Rochelle, who preferred to take the chances of unlawful trading.

Champlain remained in France until the spring of 1613, the year in which Port Royal was destroyed by Argall the Englishman. Of this, of course, he knew nothing at the time, and fortunately for Quebec the destroyer seems not to have heard of the little settlement under this lonely rock of the St. Lawrence.

While his friends in Acadia were meeting with such overwhelming misfortunes, Champlain was ascending the Ottawa on another exploring expedition, to which he was lured by the false report of a young Frenchman who had volunteered to winter with the Indians. This young man brought to France a wonderful story of having ascended a northern river from the interior, and having discovered the shore of the Eastern sea. Champlain believed him and hastened to Canada to follow up the welcome discovery. He, with four Frenchmen and two Indians, set out from Mont Royal, in two small canoes which they dragged with great labor up the foaming rapids near Carillon, and reached the calmer stream which sweeps on between high hills to the present capital of Canada. They lighted their camp-fires at night on the shore, passed the snowy cascade of the Rideau and drew up their canoes below the point where the great caldron of the Chaudière sends up its clouds of boiling spray. Champlain's Indians did not fail to follow the usual Indian custom of throwing an offering of tobacco into the cataract to please its Manitou or guardian spirit.

Paddling on over Lake Chaudière—obliged to carry their canoes across a portage, where the silvery cascades of the Chats Rapids dashed down among wooded islets—then paddling up Lake Coulonge, they reached at last the settlement of the Ottawa chief, Tessouat, with its maize fields and bark

wigwams. Here the young Frenchman had spent the winter, and from this point had set out upon his supposed discovery.

Tessouat hospitably made a feast for Champlain at which the viands were broiled fish and meat with a sort of brose made of maize and scraps of meat thrown in.

After the feast, when the pipes were being smoked, Champlain made his request for canoes and guides to follow up the journey of his informant. But he found, to his great vexation, that the young Frenchman's story was a lie, and that he had never gone farther than the settlement of Tessouat. Disappointed and disheartened, Champlain returned to Montreal, attended by a flotilla of Huron canoes; and, magnanimously leaving the deceiver unpunished, he sailed in a trading ship for France.

It was two years before he returned to Canada, bringing with him four Recollet friars, who had answered his appeal for aid in the Mission to New France. They chose a site for their home near the *Habitation* of Champlain, and said the first mass with the entire settlement kneeling around them, while a salute of cannon burst forth to honor the occasion. Two of the friars set out to join the Indians in their roving life, living in their filthy and smoky lodges, and sharing their privations in the hope of winning them to the true faith. One of them, Le Caron, persevered in braving all the hardships of a winter among them, with this great end in view.

Meantime the Hurons and Algonquins were again begging Champlain for help against the Iroquois. This it seemed necessary to give them, in order to keep them united by a common fear, and under his own influence. They met at Montreal in a great council, and Champlain promised again to join them with his men, while they undertook to muster an army of twenty-five hundred men for the proposed raid on the Iroquois. But when he returned to join them, the whole body of Indians, impatient of delay, had departed to their homes.

Disgusted with the childish caprice of his Indian allies, Champlain set out once more to explore the region of the Ottawa. He reached the limit of his former journey and pressed onward, avoiding rapids by portages, paddling on the stream or forcing his way through the wilderness, till he

reached the shores of Lake Nipissing, the country of which he had heard so much. His two Indians had soon devoured all their provisions, and they were obliged then to subsist mainly on blueberries and wild raspberries. But he still kept his steady way westward until, paddling down French River, they came out on the great expanse of Lake Huron. Exploring its shores for a hundred miles he left his canoes somewhere near Thunder Bay, and followed an Indian trail through the forest till he met the welcome sight of the broad fields of maize and pumpkins that surrounded the palisaded villages and long bark lodges of the great Huron nation. At one of the largest and most populous of these, surrounded by a triple palisade thirty-five feet high, he found the Recollet friar, Le Caron. The missionary had made a little chapel of the bark lodge built for him by the Indians and in this he taught all who would come to him, and on the arrival of Champlain and his men, he said mass in his bark chapel with much rejoicing.

Champlain soon continued his journey to the capital of the Hurons, Cahiague, near Lake Simcoe, and then followed the devious chain of lakes and rivers till he came out at last on the shore of Lake Ontario. Crossing it to what is now the American shore, Champlain with the Huron army which had followed him from Cahiague pursued their way into the country of the Iroquois.

An attack on one of their towns, well planned by Champlain, failed through the uncontrollable rashness and stupidity of the undisciplined Indians. Champlain was wounded, and the crestfallen Indians would not renew the attack, but retreated in despondency. They refused to escort Champlain to Quebec and he found himself obliged to spend the winter with them in the country northeast of the present city of Kingston. He joined his hosts in their deer hunts and once lost himself in the forests, in which he wandered shelterless for days and nights. He shared their marches through mud and slush, or on snow-shoes through the snow-clad forests. Finally, he returned to Cahiague, where the friar, Le Caron, was still working away in his difficult and solitary mission. Taking him with him, Champlain began the long and circuitous journey homeward, settling a quarrel between the Indians before he left, and exhorting them to keep the peace among themselves, and the alliance

with the French, and getting a promise from the Nipissings to guide him to that Northern Sea which he still hoped to reach.

In July having been absent for a year, he returned to Quebec accompanied by the chief Durantal, who had been his host. He had been reported dead, and was greeted by the little colony as one they had hardly expected to see again, and with a hospitality and warmth that made him almost forget his long wanderings in the wilderness, and all the toil and privations he had undergone.

This was the last of Champlain's long voyages of discovery. He had penetrated into the depths of the wilderness far beyond where any white man had gone before him, and yet in all his devious wanderings he had never come nearer finding that short passage to India, which had haunted his dreams. He seems to have begun to feel the futility of spending strength and energy on so fruitless a quest, and also the uselessness of wasting his time and risking his life in the skirmishing forays of the savages, which led to no result. He was growing older, too, and perhaps the adventurous forest life that had so fascinated him had somewhat lost its charm. At all events he now applied his whole strength to fostering the struggling life of his little colony, whose growth was so weak and slow. There was, as yet, only the first small cluster of buildings at the foot of the cliff, his own *Habitation*, the trader's warehouses and the rude dwelling and chapel of the Recollet friars. But now he built a small fort on the height, behind the present broad Terrace, and around it soon clustered a few buildings and gardens; among these the house and garden of the thrifty colonist, Hêbert. The Recollets, too, some years later built their permanent home of stone—*Notre Dame des Anges* on the winding St. Charles—a mile and a half distant from the fort.

Could Champlain have seen, as in a vision, the stately city that now crowns the promontory, and fills up the intervening space he would have taken heart, indeed, and felt that his labor had not been in vain. But then the prospect was not hopeful. The population of the settlement numbered only fifty or sixty persons, and these were mainly fur-traders with a few thriftless hangers-on. The traders were jealous of each other, and of Champlain,

and religious dissensions increased the lack of harmony. Still Champlain labored for its advancement with undaunted devotion going every year to France to watch over its interests there.

In 1620, he brought his young and beautiful wife to her Canadian home, which, with buildings already falling into ruin, must have seemed cheerless indeed to a young and gentle lady reared in all the luxury of France. She took a warm interest, however, in the Indians who were so impressed by her beauty and gentleness that they were ready to worship her as a divinity. She lived four years in Canada, finding her chief interest in teaching the squaws and their children, but she at length followed her own strong desire to return to France, and spend the rest of her life in an Ursuline convent.

So things went on at Quebec amid troubles from the emigrants, from the traders and occasionally from the Indians. Even the Montagnais, forgetful of past kindnesses, attempted an attack on the colony, which was quickly frustrated; the Iroquois with more excuse assembled in threatening numbers, and even went so far as to make an assault on the Recollet convent, which had happily been fortified.

In 1625, three Jesuit Fathers arrived, the first of the noted order to reach Quebec, where it was long to play an important part. Champlain, three years later, began to rebuild the fort, having with difficulty procured from the traders the means of doing so. Besides Quebec, there were now four trading stations: Quebec, Trois Rivières, Place Royal, and the first and most important of all, Tadousac, besides a pasture outpost at Cape Tourmente. In 1627 the great Richelieu came to the aid of Champlain and New France, by forming the "Company of the Hundred Associates," having sovereign power over the whole of North America, included under the name of New France, with a perpetual monopoly of the fur-trade. The Associates were bound by their contract to increase by emigration the population of New France to four thousand persons, and to provide for their maintenance, and give them cleared land on which to settle. They were also to maintain exclusively the Roman Catholic form of religion, and the Huguenots were to be absolutely expelled from the colony. Champlain was one of the Associates, and their capital amounted to three hundred thousand livres.

MARGUERITE BOURGEOIS

MAGDALEN DE LA PELTRIE

No sooner had the company been founded, however, than a similar calamity to that which had destroyed Port Royal, descended upon Quebec. England was as much opposed as ever to sharing with France the North American continent, and just as the famished inhabitants of Quebec were anxiously looking out for a fleet of transports, which was to bring them much-needed supplies, a fleet of six vessels under David Kirke, a Dieppe Protestant in English employ, bore down toward Quebec. With dilapidated defences, and an almost empty magazine, resistance seemed hopeless. The French transports were taken by the English ships on their way, and the long-looked-for supplies were seized or sunk in the river. The conquering squadron then sailed home, leaving the colony to a winter of starvation. By spring they had exhausted everything left to them, and were forced to look for wild roots and acorns to satisfy their hunger.

Champlain even thought of making a raid on the Iroquois to procure food. In July the Englishvessels returned, and a boat with a flag of truce was sent off to demand capitulation. Anything else would have been useless. The English undertook to convey the French to their homes and very soon the red-cross flag had taken the place of the *Fleur-de-lis* on the scene of Champlain's long and persevering labors. The blow was a heavy one, but even yet he did not give up his enterprise. He sailed with Kirke's squadron for London where he represented the facts to the French ambassador, who secured from the English king the restoration of New France to its original possessor in fulfilment of a treaty made in the previous April.

In 1632 the French Admiral Caen demanded the surrender of Quebec from Thomas Kirke and the French lily again floated from the heights in place of the English cross. In the following spring Champlain resumed command. Aided by the Jesuit Le Jeune, he maintained an earnest, religious ritual and a strict discipline, which made the colony resemble a vast convent. Faithful to his great aim of converting the Indians to Christianity, he sought to win their regard by every possible kindness. But his active life, so devoted to the interests of New France, was almost over now, and on Christmas Day, 1635, all Quebec mourned, with good cause, for the brave leader and true knight who had entered into his well-earned rest.

CHAPTER III.

PÈRE BRÉBŒUF.

Père Brébœuf a Type of the Best Missionary Spirit in Early Canada—Champlain Brings a Number of Missionaries to Quebec—Jean de Brébœuf of a Noble Family of Normandy—Anxious to Go to the Huron Mission—The Hurons Visit Quebec as Fur Traders—The Missionaries Anxious to Go West with Them—Forced to Spend the Winter in Quebec—Their Desires Gratified in the Following Year—The Arduous Journey to the Huron Country—Brébœuf Welcomed by His Old Pupils—The Savages Build the "Black Robes" a Fitting Residence—The Hurons Amazed at the Striking Clock of the Jesuits—The Indian Sorcerers Stir Up Enmity Against the Missionaries—A Severe Drought Attributed to the Cross on the Mission-House—A Plague of Small-Pox Carries off Many of the Hurons—Brébœuf's Noble Work in this Trying Time—The "Black Robes" Held Responsible for the Plague—Their Death Decreed—Brébœuf's Courageous Conduct—His Effort to Found a Mission in the Neutral Nation—The Iroquois Invade the Country of the Hurons—The Destruction of the Hurons—The Martyrdom of Brébœuf—The Influence of the Jesuits on the Life of the Colony of New France.

IN a book dealing with the makers of Canada, it is necessary to consider the early missionaries, who labored to so much purpose among the Indians. That New France was able to maintain an existence during a great part of the seventeenth century was largely due to these noble and self-sacrificing men who did much to hold the Indians in check. But little is known of the early life of any of them. It is not necessary that anything should be known of their parentage; friends, the world, life itself, they were ready to sacrifice for the propagation of Christianity. Several of these men would make worthy subjects for study, but Père Brébœuf is chosen as typical of the best missionary spirit in early Canada.

In the latter part of May, 1633, Champlain, after one of his many voyages across the stormy Atlantic, reached the rocky fortress of Quebec. This time he brought with him a number of missionaries, who were to carry the gospel to the benighted Indians. Among the missionaries was one figure more striking than the others, Jean de Brébœuf, a man of a noble family of

Normandy. He was a tall man, with broad athletic shoulders and sinewy limbs. Even in his black robes one could not but feel that he was a born soldier. His face, too, wore the stern expression of a man accustomed to deeds of daring and commanding, rather than to the milder aspect of a preacher of the Gospel of Peace. He had been in Canada for several years before this time, and in his labors had found that the Hurons on the shores of Georgian Bay needed him most, and that the difficulties of that mission were suited to his daring spirit. He now came to Canada, anxiously looking for an opportunity to return to his former field of labor, and to what was to prove the scene of his martyrdom.

The Hurons came to Quebec in July on their annual visit, with their canoes laden with furs. A feast was held in their honor, and at the feast Champlain introduced the three missionaries, Daniel, Davost and Brébœuf, to the red men. The Indians had ever found the "Black Robes" loving and helpful, and several of the chiefs welcomed them with stirring speeches. Brébœuf could speak their language and replied with fitting words. The Indians had heard of him, and his noble bearing, and able, diplomatic address filled all with unbounded admiration, and many vied for the honor of carrying him in their canoes. The feast broke up, and the fathers made preparations for a long and trying journey.

However, they met with a disappointment. A difficulty arose between the French and the Indians, and the latter paddled to their country refusing to carry the missionaries with them. The fathers lost no time, however, for they earnestly went to work at the Huron language, and spent the long Canadian winter in obtaining a speaking knowledge of it.

Next year when the Hurons came down they took back with them the missionaries, who, with glad hearts, faced the journey of nine hundred miles. The canoes left Quebec and paddled slowly but steadily up the St. Lawrence till the Ottawa was reached; and then began the difficulties of the way. The rapids of this great northern river forced them to portage again and again, and not infrequently they had to wade waist deep in the boiling flood, dragging their canoes with them. The fathers, unaccustomed to such work, felt it keenly, and even Brébœuf, strong as a lion, was almost exhausted.

But they bore up manfully and did their share of the work, helping to carry the canoes past the rapids, or bending under loads of baggage, as they struggled over rocks or through dense woods. Nor had they proper food for such exhausting work. A little corn crushed between two stones and mixed with water was almost the only nourishment they had in the dreary thirty days' journey from Three Rivers to the Georgian Bay. But the heroic missionaries did not heed the trials and dangers, they were only anxious to save souls, and at night, as they lay on the rocks or hard earth and read their breviaries by the camp fire or the light of the moon, they rejoiced that God had put it into their power to at last labor in their chosen field.

The canoes bearing them became separated on the journey, and when Brébœuf reached his destination on the shores of Thunder Bay his comrades were nowhere near. The Indians had agreed to carry him to this spot, and without a word deserted him and went to their respective villages. But he was not one to be disheartened. He hid his baggage in the forest and went in search of his future flock. He had spent three years in Toanche, a town not far distant, but it had been destroyed by fire. He passed by the ruins of this place and soon saw before him the roofs of the village of Ihonatiria.

The villagers had probably heard that their old teacher was near them once more, for when his tall athletic figure was seen emerging from the thick forest they rushed out to meet him with the wildest enthusiasm, crying out "Echom has come again!" "Echom has come again!" He was led in triumph to their village, and feasted and cared for, and here he rested and awaited the arrival of his companions who were many days longer on the journey.

The Hurons were glad to have the "Black Robes" among them once more, and several of the villagers combined to build them a fitting residence. Before the autumn leaves had all fallen from the trees a house thirty-six feet long by twenty feet wide was erected, and finished in a manner that did credit to its savage builders. The Jesuits fitted it up as well as possible under the circumstances. Among the things they displayed in their abode were some that filled the Indians with awe. A magnifying glass and multiplying lens puzzled their untutored senses; and a hand-mill made them

reverence the ingenuity and skill of the white man. But the most amazing of all was a clock that struck the hours. The Hurons christened it the "Captain," and were never tired of sitting waiting to hear it strike. They asked what it ate, and what it said when it struck. The fathers put this last question to good purpose and declared that when it struck twelve times it said "hang the kettle on," and when four, "get up and go home." The Indians acted on the answer, and ever after at four o'clock the missionaries were left alone to worship together, to pray for the success of their labors, to study the Huron language, and to plan their work.

Their labor was far from being pleasant. They had many difficulties to contend with and much to discourage them. The Indian sorcerers did all in their power to stir up enmity against them; the savages were so deep-rooted in wickedness that they seemed little higher than the brute, and those that did confess their sins and receive baptism, too often did it for some present they expected from the scant store that the devoted men had brought with them. But Brébœuf was not to be daunted, and he went steadily and cheerily on with his work, helping his weaker comrades to bear up against their trials.

A difficulty arose during the first summer of their sojourn among the Hurons. A severe drought had been burning the fields and withering the crops, and their enemies declared that it was caused by the red cross on the mission-house, that scared away the bird of thunder. A council was held, and it was decreed that the cross should be cut down. To save the emblem of their faith the fathers offered to paint it white, and when it was done, and the drought did not cease, the Indians thought they must try some other means of bringing rain. The sorcerers exerted themselves to bring it about, but their efforts were fruitless. At length the missionaries formed religious processions and offered up earnest prayers that the dry time might end; and as rain came shortly afterwards the Indians as a people put great reliance in the white "medicine men," but the sorcerers hated them with an intenser hatred than at first.

Soon after this the small-pox broke out and swept with deadly might through the whole Huron nation. The Jesuits worked nobly. Night and

day Brébœuf's commanding form might have been seen, passing from hut to hut, caring for the sick, nursing them with his own hands, toiling for the life of their bodies, and earnestly seeking to save their souls. They besought him to tell them what they should do to be saved, and Brébœuf answered, "Believe in God; keep his commands; give up all your superstitious feasts; renounce your sins, and vow to build a chapel to offer God thanksgiving and praise." These were difficult things for the Indians to do, but several whole communities promised, and for a time struggled against their savage natures. But an evil day was at hand for Brébœuf and his comrades. Their old enemies the sorcerers, came among their flock and drew its members away to the worship of the Indian gods and to the practice of savage, disgusting cures against the disease.

It was soon rumored abroad that the Jesuits had cast a spell over the Indians to get them into their power. They were held responsible for the plague, and the objects that had formerly pleased the wondering savages were now looked upon as things to be dreaded. The clock had to be stopped; the religious pictures in the mission-house were turned from with horror, and even a small streamer they had set up was dreaded as a source of the disease.

Day by day the antipathy increased, till at last they were shunned, hooted, pelted with sticks and stones, and even their lives were threatened, but Brébœuf bore an undaunted presence and met all their attacks with a calm courage that filled the red men with admiration even in their hate. At length, however, after several councils had met, their death was decreed, and it was only the superstitious dread that the red men had of the great "white sorcerers" that kept the blow from falling. Brébœuf and his companions felt that the end was nigh, and assembled their flock together to a great *festin d' adieu*, a farewell feast of one expecting death. Their courage in meeting their fate with their eyes open turned the tide in their favor, and, although the sorcerers still kept a large party among the Indians stirred up against them, their lives were never after in danger.

In 1640 Brébœuf struggled to found a mission in the Neutral nation, but after four months of effort he returned to the town of Sainte Marie in the

Huron country, and among his chosen people he labored for eight years, till he met his death at the hands of the Iroquois.

These savages hated the Hurons with a deadly hatred, and in 1648 planned an attack on their towns. They waited for the Huron traders to make their annual descent to the French posts. A sharp fight ensued; all the Hurons were slain or captured, and the victorious enemy rushed on the town of St. Joseph which was soon laid in ashes. Here was slain the noble Daniel, and his body burned in the ruins of his church. Other towns were raided and destroyed, and the Iroquois with scalps dangling from every belt, hurried back to their palisaded homes.

In the following March they were once more on the war-path and the populous town of St. Ignace was soon given to the flames. From St. Ignace they impetuously dashed on St. Louis where labored Brébœuf and Lalement In a short time the town was taken and given to the flames. Bréboeuf and his comrade played heroic parts, and died as perhaps martyrs never died before. Brébœuf particularly excited the vengeful spirit of the Indians, who were unable to make him cry for mercy. Above their savage yells his voice rang out exhorting his flock to remain firm in their belief, and to die Christians. So greatly was his spirit admired that the Indians, to gain something of his courage and strength, with savage superstition drank his blood, and their most noted chief ate his heart.

So ended the labors of these heroes; and that the Indians of Canada held to the French with such affection was due almost altogether to the struggles and earnestness of perhaps the most devoted and heroic missionaries that the world has ever seen.

CHAPTER IV.

ADAM DAULAC.

The Iroquois Threatening Montreal—Adam Daulac Plans to Save the Colony—Goes Forth with His Heroic Band to Meet the Savages—The Trip Up the Ottawa—Awaiting the Enemy at the Foot of the Long Saut—Joined by a Party of Hurons and Algonquins—Ambushing the Iroquois—A Siege Without a Parallel in Canadian History—The Sufferings of the Besieged—Efforts of the Iroquois to Storm Their Position—Deserted by Their Huron Allies—The Iroquois Send for Reinforcements—The Final Struggle—A Breach in the Wall—Daulac and His Comrades Slain—Mourning at Montreal on News of Their Death—The Colony Saved.

TOO often valorous deeds are thought of by themselves; their setting is forgotten and in this way much of their significance is lost. The action of one man may have more influence on the progress of a campaign or even the development of a country than a battle where large armies are engaged. The brave deed of the Canadian pioneer, Adam Daulac, which has come down to us, is related here not merely because it is a heroic incident in the making of Canada, but because it was of vital importance in the life of the young colony. At the time when it took place Canada was threatened with destruction; a scourge similar to that which nearly a century later swept the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia was pressing hard on the frontiers of New France, and it looked as if the efforts of such men as Champlain and Maisonneuve were to be in vain. The scalping knife and the tomahawk of the Iroquois threatened to annihilate the settlements thinly scattered along the St. Lawrence. But the hordes of savages were to be turned back from their career of plunder and murder, not by the trained soldiers sent from old France to protect the colony, but by the gallant conduct of one young Frenchman and a handful of his comrades. The story of their exploit is well worthy of a place in a book dealing with the making of Canada.

During the latter part of the winter of 1660, the little settlement of Montreal was kept in perpetual excitement by alarming rumors of the

CHATEAU DE RAMEZAY, MONTREAL

warlike designs of the Iroquois. Hunters, trappers and friendly Indians were all agreed as to the vast numbers of these irrepressible savages, who were wintering in Canada, far from their own villages to the south of Lake Ontario, in order to be ready for their murderous and plunderous descent just as soon as the French should begin to break up the soil and sow their spring crops.

These reports greatly disheartened even the most sanguine of the colonists, and they feared lest the colony should be swept out of existence. While so many hearts were trembling with fear, there was one young man in Montreal whose breast burned with a warrior's delight at hearing these rumors, greatly exaggerated as they often were. This young man was Adam Daulac, Sieur des Ormeaux. Though but twenty-five years of age, he had already seen a good deal of service; but while a soldier in old France, had in some way stained his character, and was longing to wipe out the stain by some heroic deed.

He felt that now was the time for action. For years the French had suffered from the inroads of the Iroquois, but had never yet gone out to meet their savage foes, satisfying themselves with repulsing them from behind stone walls, or palisaded log-built forts and blockhouses.

Daulac determined to try a new plan. He would not wait for the savages till their war-whoop should be heard around the dwellings of his countrymen, but with as many choice spirits as he could rally together, willing to risk all, he would go forth to battle with the Iroquois. Having obtained leave from the Governor, Maisonneuve, to collect such a party of volunteers, he at once went to work, and his energy and enthusiasm had soon attracted to his leadership sixteen brave comrades ready to follow wherever he should lead.

Nearly all of these had lately arrived from France, and had been much disappointed in Canada. The continuous confinement in the walled towns, the perpetual dread of the savages and the extremes of heat and cold were trials they had not taken into account. They would willingly have braved any hardship in active warfare; but to have to endure so much without chance of heroic action was intolerable. They, therefore, eagerly seized

Daulac's idea of going out boldly to battle, with the chance of distinguishing themselves in the service of their country. They were fully aware of the terrible risk they ran in going forth so few in number to meet the Indian horde; they showed this by carefully making their wills before setting out on their desperate expedition.

The inhabitants of Montreal looked upon them as a band of heroes; and on a bright morning in the early spring, just as the snow was melting down from Mont Royal, and the swollen river was spreading over the surrounding country, the people flocked in crowds to the chapel of the Hôtel Dieu, to see them make what would probably be their last confession, and receive the last Sacraments. They were, indeed, a gallant young band, but three of them having reached the age of thirty years. It seemed hard that their young lives should have to be thus sacrificed to the general good.

Everywhere throughout the chapel weeping, tear-stained eyes looked upon the little group of manly figures, their faces lighted with a spirit of heroic exaltation. Some of the elder warriors caught their ardor and begged them to wait until the spring crops were sown, in order that they too might go against the Indians. But Daulac refused to listen to such entreaties, urging that the sooner they hurried to the encounter, the better, since each day's delay only gave the Iroquois more time to strengthen their forces and bring them nearer the settlements. He was, in reality, anxious to go forth with his small band. He had no wish for the presence of any of the older men, as in that case he could not be commander of the party, and this was his enterprise. It was his cherished desire, not only to protect the settlers of Montreal, but, above all, to do some heroic deed that would forever clear away the stain from his name.

Having secured an abundant supply of arms and ammunition for the undertaking, and a quantity of hominy, or crushed corn, for food, they took a solemn and tender farewell of their friends, who inwardly felt that they should never again look upon their brave young defenders. The seventeen youths embarked in several large canoes, and began their arduous journey. They had had but little experience in the management of these frail barks, and so found the work of paddling no easy matter. A week was spent in

attempts to pass the swift waters of Sainte Anne, at the head of Montreal Island. However, their strenuous efforts were at last rewarded with success, and the hard-won experience better enabled them to bend the paddle up the difficult Ottawa. Swiftly they toiled across the Lake of the Two Mountains and up the river, until the fierce current at Carillon was reached. Here they took a brief rest and then began the heavy work of poling and hauling their canoes up the rapid torrent. After much severe toil they succeeded in passing the rapid, and then quietly paddled along till they came within sight of the foaming "Long Saut." These rapids, in which Champlain on his first voyage up the Ottawa, almost lost his life, were much more difficult to pass than those of either Sainte Anne or Carillon. As they gazed at the furious waters boiling and seething around bowlders and sunken rocks, they decided that it would not be possible, with their inexperience, to ascend them. They knew that a large party of the Iroquois were encamped on the Upper Ottawa, and that they would have to shoot the rapids on their way down; and they thus thought it best to wait where they were and to give the Indians a hot reception as soon as their canoes appeared. While debating this matter, they saw just at the foot of the rapid a partially cleared spot in the midst of which was a hastily erected palisaded fort. An Algonquin war party had hurriedly thrown it up in the previous autumn.

Worn out as they were, the Frenchmen at once gladly took possession of it. After unloading their canoes and hauling them up on the shore, they stored their provisions and ammunition in the fort. They were so fatigued with the journey that they did not set to work to repair the fort, much dilapidated by the winter's storms. Having slung their kettles by the shore and partaken of a hearty meal, they wrapped themselves in their blankets and lay down for a much needed rest, determining to remain in this fort and await the enemy.

Soon after Daulac had left Montreal, two roving bands of Indians, the one an Algonquin party of four, under a chief named Mituvenmeg, the other a Huron party of forty led by the famous brave Etienne Annahotaha, came to the settlement seeking employment. When they heard of Daulac's expedition, they expressed a strong desire to join him and help him to crush

the common enemy—the Iroquois. The Governor was doubtful about accepting the offered alliance. He could trust the Algonquins; but since the destruction of the Huron nation many of the subdued race had gone over to, and been adopted by the Iroquois. He feared, therefore, that, should they see their old comrades among the foe, they might be tempted to desert Daulac. But Etienne Annahotaha, whose courage and loyalty to the French cause none could doubt, was so urgent in his solicitations to be permitted to help the brave champions of the settlement, that Maisonneuve at length consented to give him a letter to Daulac. This chief was an eminently brave and wily Indian, who had been nurtured and trained in the wars that had swept his nation out of existence. From boyhood he had fought in a succession of battles, and no better shot or bolder boatman could be found in the American forests or on the bounding streams. Besides being strong and courageous he was also diplomatic; and, but a short time before this, he had gained a signal victory over the Iroquois on the Isle of St. Joseph near Lake Huron, through the wary shrewdness that characterized him. It is not strange that Maisonneuve should have been persuaded to let such an Indian leader take his band to the assistance of Daulac.

These Hurons and Algonquins, knowing that the Iroquois must already be on their way down the Ottawa, eagerly bent their ashen paddles and were soon in sight of the little fort at the foot of the "Long Saut." Daulac was much pleased with this reinforcement, and the hopes of the whole party were greatly raised. Scouts were now constantly sent out to give the French timely warning of the approach of the foe. From time to time, tidings were brought in of their movements, and early one morning several scouts of Etienne's band rushed into camp with the news that two canoes were speeding down the rapids. Daulac hastily concealed a few of his men near the shore, where he thought the Iroquois would land to rest after their exhausting labors, giving them orders to be ready to fire on the enemy, and if possible, to allow none to escape.

The ambushed party waited patiently for their victims who were not long in appearing, their canoes bounding down the turbulent waters. Daulac had chosen the spot for ambush well, for the Iroquois turned their canoes

to the shore just at the point where he expected they would. As they were about to land, Daulac's men fired a too hasty volley and some of the Indians escaped to the forest before the Frenchmen had time to pursue them or to re-load their guns. The fugitives rushed up the Ottawa to warn their companions. Burning for revenge, the whole party straightway broke up camp, launched their canoes, and paddled swiftly towards the "Long Saut."

The French with their Indian allies, after the incident above related, set to work to prepare their morning meal. They were, however, suddenly interrupted by the tidings that a fleet of almost one hundred canoes was already on its way down the Saut. Scarcely had the alarm been given when the foremost boat was seen in the distance. For a moment they all stood watching the canoes as they came skimming, dancing, shooting down the leaping waters, now swiftly gliding over some calm stretch, then rushing with race-horse speed towards a boulder, only to be turned aside at the right moment by the skillful paddle of the steersman; again plunging down some little waterfall and sending the spray in clouds about their prows.

As soon as they began to reach the smooth waters at the foot of the rapids, the keen-eyed and anxious watchers left their kettles and dishes on the shore, and rushed into the fort to prepare for the onset. The Iroquois on landing saw their slain comrades, and, maddened with rage, charged upon the fort, but were driven back with considerable loss. They then endeavored to induce Daulac to surrender, holding out favorable terms, but he only derided their demands.

Before renewing the assault, they built a fort in the forest, to which they might retreat in case of a second repulse. While thus engaged the French and their Indian allies were not idle. Some busily plied their axes in cutting down small trees and erecting a double row of palisades. Others worked diligently with pick and shovel, filling up the space between the two rows with earth, high enough to protect a man standing upright. In the earthwork were left twenty loop-holes large enough to allow three men to use their muskets with advantage at each. Just as they were throwing the last shovelful of earth between the palisades they were called to arms by the savage yells of the Iroquois who had completed their fort and were returning

to the attack. This time they were trying a new plan. They had broken up the canoes of the besieged, and, setting fire to the pieces of bark, rushed forward at full speed with these blazing torches, endeavoring to throw them against the palisades, and burn out their foes. But the muskets of the fort kept up an incessant fire, and torch bearer after torch bearer fell. Still their comrades pressed on, but the hot, close fire was too much for them, and they hurriedly retreated, leaving behind them many dead and wounded.

After a brief rest, they renewed the attack, ably led by a daring Seneca Chief, whose spirit so inspired his men that they seemed likely to reach the palisades, but a bullet struck the leader and his followers fled. Several of the young Frenchmen, desiring to show their courage, and strike terror into the hearts of the Iroquois, volunteered to go out and bring in the head of the fallen chief. Their comrades stood by the loopholes, and every time an Indian showed himself, poured a volley in his direction. Protected by this heavy fire, the young heroes succeeded in reaching the fallen chief, cutting off his head, and returning to the fort unhurt. With exulting cheers they set the head up on the most prominent part of the palisades, right in the face of the enraged enemy. This filled the Iroquois with savage determination for revenge. Again they rushed forward to take the little fort, but again they were repulsed with severe loss. After this third repulse they felt that, with their present force, it would be impossible to either destroy or capture the little band.

These Iroquois, when intercepted by Daulac and his men, were on their way to join a much larger force of about five hundred fellow countrymen, at the mouth of the Richelieu. The two combined bands were to annihilate the French colonists, sweeping Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal out of existence.

The besiegers, after debating what would be the best course to follow, decided to send a canoe to the five hundred warriors encamped on the Richelieu, to ask them to come at once to help them to crush the band entrenched in the little fort. After their messengers had departed, a continuous fire was kept up by the Iroquois, and every now and then they

feigned a rush on the fort, so as to keep the besieged in a constant state of anxiety and weary them out with toil and watching.

The Frenchmen, in the meantime, suffered much from hunger and thirst, cold and want of sleep. The only kind of food they had was hominy —poor fare for men constantly at work. In their hasty rush from the shore at the approach of the canoes down the Saut, they had failed to bring with them any of their large kettles, or any supply of water, and as there was none to be had about the fort, the thirst of the whole party soon became almost unbearable. Besides it was quite impossible to eat the dry food alone without being almost choked in the effort.

In despair some of the bravest determined to dare the fire of the Iroquois, in order to bring water from the river. Collecting all their small vessels, they boldly sallied forth, under cover of the fire of the muskets in the fort, and succeeded in bringing in a little water without loss. This supply, however, was soon exhausted; and the Iroquois, who had not anticipated this rush to the river, had now posted their men in such a position that it was impossible to successfully repeat the attempt. Unable to bear the thirst, they went eagerly to work, and dug vigorously until their hearts were gladdened by the sight of a little muddy water welling up through the soil.

They had another great misfortune to bear in the desertion of all the Huron allies except Etienne Annahotaha. When the Iroquois had conquered the Huron nation, many of the latter, as has already been pointed out, had been adopted into the various tribes of the five nations. Some of these adopted Hurons were with the besiegers, and when they learned that many of their fellow countrymen were with the French, they held out offers of safety to these, provided that they should desert to the ranks of the Iroquois.

The poor Hurons, starved and suffering, knowing that sooner or later they must perish if they remained in the fort, listened to the voice of the tempters, and at every fitting opportunity leaped over the palisades and fled to the Iroquois, who received them with shouts of joy. At last Etienne and the four Algonquins alone remained with the French. Even Etienne's

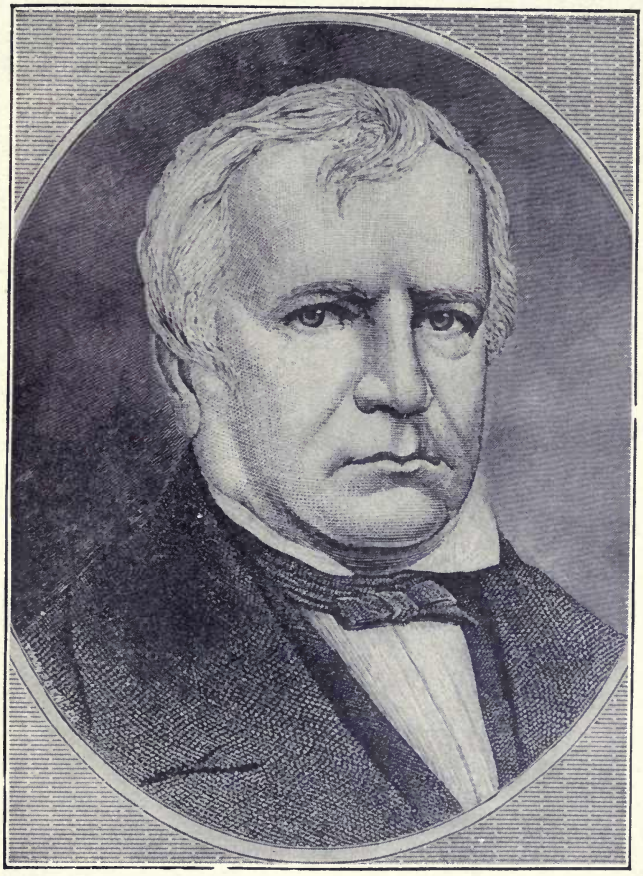
nephew—La Mouche—went with the rest. This desertion greatly weakened the hopes of the little party, now reduced from sixty to twenty. Yet when the Iroquois again called on them to surrender, nothing daunted, they boldly refused, firm in their intention of holding out to the death.

About noon on the fifth day after the Iroquois had sent their messenger to their brethren at the mouth of the Richelieu, the exulting yells of savages were heard afar off in the forest. They came nearer and nearer, until all the woods rang with the demoniacal yells. The French now prepared for the worst. They felt that the end was near, but they would not die without a heroic struggle.

Five hundred warriors were thus added to the force attacking the fort, and the Iroquois thought that the only thing to be considered was how to win the victory with the smallest loss of life. Calling a council, they decided to advance cautiously at first, and when near the palisades, to rush forward *en masse* and burst in on the besieged. They advanced accordingly, but as soon as any one showed himself, he was met with a volley. At last the whole body made a rush for the palisades, but the French were prepared for it and made such havoc in their ranks that they were forced to retire.

The French had with them heavy musketoons—a kind of small cannon which they had not previously used, but had kept loaded in case of emergency—and the scattering fire from these was too much for the Indians. The Hurons had told the Iroquois of the small number and the weakness of the defenders of the fort, but this repulse made them doubt their information. Ominous scowls were cast at the deserters, who began to feel that, unless the French were soon crushed, they might expect little mercy at the hands of the enraged and disappointed Iroquois.

For three days and nights a constant series of attacks, without order or plan, was made on the fort. Nothing was gained, and not a few of the Indian warriors fell before the unerring aim of the besieged. The Iroquois began to look upon these as aided by the Manitou, and many wanted to give up the seemingly useless contest and return to their lodges. But all their bravest warriors cried out against such a course. They would never be able to escape the brand of cowardice if they retreated from before this handful



THE HON. SIR LOUIS HYPOLITE LAFONTAINE, BART.
Chief Justice of Quebec, 1853-64

of men. No; they must dare all rather than give up the siege. A council was called, and the bravest among them made soul-stirring speeches, calling on their brother warriors to uphold the honor of their race.

Loudest among those bent on continuing the fight, were the Hurons who had so lately deserted. It was their only chance for safety. They knew that the Iroquois were gloating over the prospect of torturing the men making such a gallant resistance, and that if they failed to get these into their power they would satisfy their appetite for blood by sacrificing them.

After the speeches small sticks were tied up in bundles and thrown on the ground, and each one willing to risk all, and join in a determined attack, showed his readiness by picking up a bundle. Warrior after warrior eagerly stepped forward and seized one, while grunts of approval arose from the throats of their companions. Soon nearly all were enrolled, few daring to keep back lest they should be regarded as cowards.

When the task of enlisting volunteers was completed, they went earnestly to work to plan an attack. All their previous attempts had been vain, and to take the fort by assault would cost them many men; they therefore decided to remain as much as possible under cover, until they should reach the palisade. How to do this puzzled them greatly. At last an Indian, more ingenious than his fellows, proposed that trees be cut down and large wooden shields made, behind which they could take shelter without much danger of being struck by the bullets. His suggestion was acted upon, and busily they plied their hatchets. They then made shields by binding three or four short logs closely together, and soon the many hands had enough ready for the braves who were to lead the attack. After a brief rest, the order was given to advance. Slowly but surely the chosen ones led on; while protected by them and their shields the rest of the Iroquois followed closely behind.

When the French saw this peculiar, fence-like body advance, they did not at first know what to make of it, but they were soon roused from their bewilderment, and began a rapid, despairing fire on the wooden wall. It was however without much effect; occasionally a shield-bearer would be seen to fall, but the place of the fallen brave was quickly filled by those in the rear.

They did not waver for an instant, and when within a few feet of the palisades—casting their shields from them—they leaped forward, hatchet in hand, and began hacking and tearing the palisades to force their way into the fort.

The brave little garrison felt that the end had come. They had fought like heroes and were now ready to die like heroes. When they had undertaken the expedition, they had determined to accept no quarter; now they knew they need expect none. Daulac strengthened them by actions and words. Eager to repulse the foe, he crammed a large musketoon to the muzzle with powder and shot, and lighting the fuse, attempted to throw it over the wall. It struck the top of the palisades, and fell back into the fort, bursting as it struck the ground. Some of the defenders were blinded and wounded by the explosion, and, in the excitement, left the loop holes. The Indians, taking advantage of this, began to fire upon them from the outside. A breach was soon made through the wall, and the determined warriors rushed in, but equally determined Frenchmen met them, knife and axe in hand. Their courage had excited the admiration of the savages, and they were anxious to take them alive that they might kill them by slow death. Orders were given to slay none if possible. Again and again the Iroquois crowded into the gap, but Daulac's axe and knife or those of his comrades went crashing through skulls or pierced savage breasts till a great heap of dead lay about the entrance. At last Daulac was struck down, but his men took his place and kept up the fight.

Maddened by this resistance, and dreading lest the tide of battle might yet be turned, the leaders of the Indians gave the order to fire, and a score of muskets carried death to the survivors of the heroic party. With fiendish yells the Iroquois leaped into the fort in search of scalps. Only three Frenchmen had any life left, and these were at once burned before the eyes of the heartless crowd. Longing for more blood, and disappointed that they had not taken any prisoners, the Iroquois turned for revenge upon the Huron deserters; and some of them were put to death at the stake, with the cruelest torture. Others they reserved for a like fate, when they should reach their villages. Five of these escaped on the journey, and it was from

them that the details of the tragedy reached the ears of the inhabitants of Montreal.

For some weeks before the fight, Quebec, too, had been kept in a great state of alarm by rumors of the Iroquois invasion. An Indian, a friend of the Iroquois, while being tortured by the Algonquins, at Quebec, told the Jesuits of the intended raid, and his tale was substantiated by another party of Indians, meeting a like fate. There could be no doubt about the party having set out for the invasion of Canada, and, for a time, all was excitement. However, as nothing further was heard of it, quiet returned at last.

Then came the tidings of the gallant fight at the Long Saut, and, with eyes dimmed with tears, the French learned of the fate of the noble band who had so freely given their lives for that of the colony. The terrible lesson they gave the Iroquois made the savage host march homeward, not daring to face a people that could send out seventeen men so brave as these.

Montreal mourned her heroes, and for many years, the name of the young leader, Daulac, was held in deserved honor. Whatever may have been the stain that rested upon his name, it was completely forgotten in the memory of his heroic death.

CHAPTER V.

ROBERT DE LA SALLE.

By AGNES MAULE MACHAR.

Growth of New France Since Champlain's Days—New England a Rival of New France—Courcelles Undertakes to Explore the Upper St. Lawrence—Canadian Adventurers Hope to Discover a Short Passage to the East—The Early Training of Robert de la Salle—His Arrival in Canada—Receives a Land Grant Near the Rapids of St. Louis—Seneca Iroquois Visit La Salle—Inspired by Them to Begin His Famous Explorations—Sets Out on His First Expedition—Discovers the Ohio and the Illinois—Frontenac La Salle's Friend and Ally—They Decide to Build a Fort at Cataraqui—Frontenac Proceeds in State to Cataraqui—His Meeting with the Iroquois—The Fort Constructed—The Mississippi Discovered by Joliet and Marquette—News of the Discovery Prompts La Salle to Undertake Another Exploring Expedition—Proceeds to France to Interest the King in His Project—Père Hennepin Comes to Canada with La Salle—La Salle Continues His Discoveries—Returns to France and Receives a Royal Patent Permitting Him to Continue His Explorations—Begins His Voyages to the Mississippi—His Party Reaches Niagara Falls—Builds a Fort and Vessel Above the Great Cataract—His Reverses Begin—The "Griffin," the First Ship on Lake Erie, Completed—La Salle Enters Lake Michigan—The "Griffin" Returns to Niagara with a Load of Furs—Forebodings of Her Fate—La Salle's Enemies Follow Him into the Wilderness—Mutiny Among His Men—Builds Fort Crèvecœur (Fort Heartbreak)—Convinced of the Loss of the "Griffin"—La Salle's Long and Perilous Journey Back to Fort Frontenac—Plot to Murder La Salle—Overcomes His Enemies—Once More on His Way to the Mississippi—Reaches the "Father of Waters"—Misfortunes Interfere with His Enterprise—Forced to Return to Fort Frontenac—Returns to the Mississippi with Renewed Energy—Journeys Down the Great River—Reaches the Gulf of Mexico—Ascends the Mississippi and Returns to Canada—His Enemies Triumph Over Him and He Sails for France—Sets out on an Expedition for the Gulf of Mexico—Misfortunes Pursue Him—Misses the Mouth of the Mississippi—One of His Ships Wrecked and Another Obliged to Leave Him—The Hardships of the Colonists—Once More in Search of the "Fatal" River—Quarrels Among His Followers—The Murder of La Salle.

NEARLY sixty years had passed away since Champlain had founded his little settlement at the foot of the lonely rock of Quebec, and had sought from thence to penetrate to the interior of the new continent, before a second great adventurer and explorer, as brave and determined as himself, found his way to New France. In these sixty eventful years, as we have seen, the little colony had struggled nobly against fearful odds, and New France might now be said to have a real individual life of its own.

The promontory of Quebec was by this time crowned by the château of St. Louis, surrounded by forts, churches, convents and seminary; while on the beach below clustered thickly the shingled roofs of the merchants' and tradesmen's establishments. Horses had been brought over for its traffic, and several hundred sail anchored every year in its harbor, while the mineral riches of the region and the fisheries of the river had been somewhat developed under the care of the energetic Intendant, Talon, a new officer in the colony. Three Rivers was a fur-trading hamlet, inclosed by a square palisade. A chain of clearings and houses extended most of the way from Quebec to Montreal, where the fortified wind-mill looked down on the compact row of wooden houses along the shore, the Hôtel Dieu, and the rough stone buildings of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. Beyond Montreal, the occasional clearings soon ceased, lost in the mighty forests that reigned still unbroken to the east of the present Province of Quebec. Louis the Fourteenth, appropriately styled "the Magnificent" had been reigning for thirty years, and his "paternal government" had been directing emigration to the colony and forcing on its progress with artificial rapidity.

Another great change had taken place during these sixty years. New England had sprung up by the side of New France, and had been growing for half a century into a powerful, and, as it proved, a dangerous neighbor. Boston and Manhattan (now New York) were as yet little more than villages growing up with strong Puritan vigor and vitality.

There had been an unusually long respite from harassing raids of the Iroquois, the scourge of New France and the great drag on her progress. But no one could depend on the continuance of this uncertain peace; and M. de Courcelles, then Governor of the colony, had for some time before his resignation, projected an outpost fort somewhere about the junction of Lake Ontario with the St. Lawrence. M. de Courcelles had undertaken an exploring expedition up the St. Lawrence to look for a suitable site for this fort, and one of his last acts as Governor had been to call a council of the Indians in order to ask their consent to build what he represented to them as simply a "fur depot with defenses." The fatigue and exposure of this expedition up the rapids of the St. Lawrence injured the health of the

Governor so much that he soon after resigned his office, leaving for his successor, the Count de Frontenac, a strong recommendation to build the projected fort, which should hold the Iroquois in check and keep for Canada the traffic in furs then in great danger of being diverted to the English and Dutch settlers to the eastward.

As has been shown by the preceding sketches the two main causes that built up New France as a colony were the profits of the fur-trade and the generous enthusiasm awakened in France for the conversion of the Indians. Both objects involved the building of the forts needed to protect traders and missionaries, and around these grew up the future towns and cities. But still another project had greatly influenced the first explorers and settlers—the long cherished idea of finding a short passage across the continent to the rich realms of India and Cathay. And this hope still attracted to the arduous task of exploring unknown regions, the bravest and most adventurous spirits of New France.

Robert Cavalier, afterwards entitled de la Salle, was the most remarkable of these adventurers, with the most eventful history, and most tragic fate. He was born in 1643, about the time of the capture of the heroic Jogues. The son of an old burgher family of Rouen, he received a careful education, and early displayed great intellectual ability, having special talent for mathematics. He was an earnest and devout catholic, and for a time connected himself with the Jesuit Order—a step, which by French law deprived him of his rich paternal inheritance even though he afterwards left the order. His elder brother, an abbé, was a Sulpitian priest at Montreal, and this circumstance seems to have decided his career. With a small fortune—the capital of an allowance of four hundred livres a year—he came to Canada in 1666, a young man of twenty-three, to seek adventure, and win his spurs in hand-to-hand encounter, with foes as determined and seemingly as invincible as the fabled griffins and dragons of fairy tales.

His destiny and his ambitious projects shaped themselves gradually before his mind. He naturally repaired first to his brother at Montreal. Canada was not yet an Episcopal see, as it soon after became, under the ambitious Bishop Laval, the Hildebrand of New France. The "Seminary

of St. Sulpice" still held undisputed supremacy at Montreal, of which it was now the seignior, or feudal proprietor, having succeeded to the first founders.

Montreal was still the most dangerous post in the colony, and the priests of St. Sulpice were anxious to defend it by a line of outposts along the river front. Queylus, the superior of the seminary, offered La Salle a large grant of land close to the rapids of St. Louis, which he gladly accepted. He at once laid out the area of a palisaded village, and began to clear the ground and erect buildings, remains of which may still be found at Lachine, as La Salle's settlement was soon called, in allusion to his dreams of a short western passage to China.

The Seneca Iroquois, who had so terribly harassed the colony, were at this time on friendly terms with the French, and some of them came to visit La Salle at his new home. Taking a fancy to the adventurous young Frenchman, who hid a burning enthusiasm under a veil of almost Indian reserve, they told him of a great river called the Ohio, that rose in their country and flowed at last into the sea, evidently merging the Ohio and the Mississippi into one. He eagerly drank in this welcome tale, for he thought that this great unknown river must flow into the "Vermilion Sea," as the Gulf of California was then called, and so would supply the long-dreamed-of western passage to China. To explore this great river, to find in it an easy water-way to the Pacific and the East, and to take possession of this route and the surrounding territory for the King of France, was the magnificent idea that now took possession of his imagination, and to which—somewhat modified—the rest of his life was devoted.

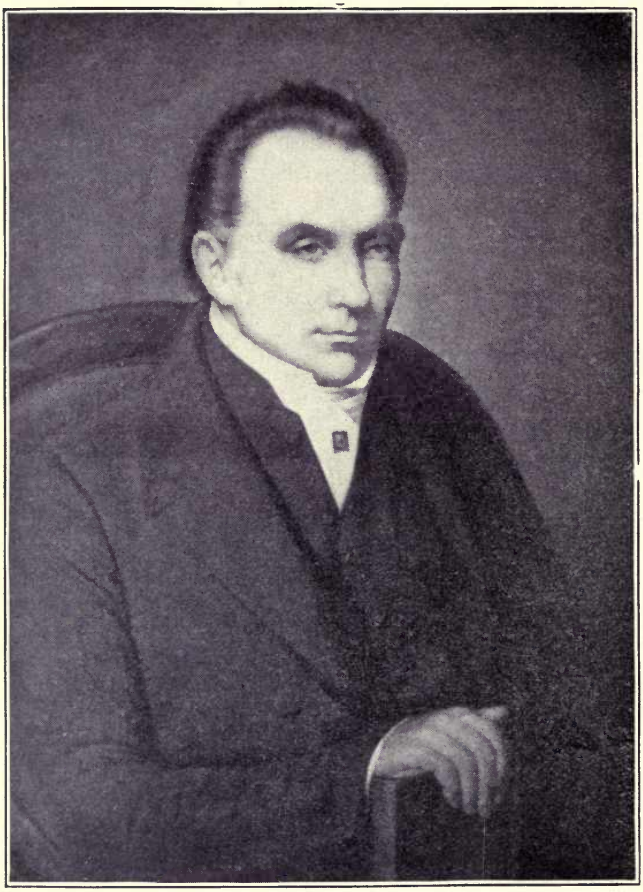
He went down to Quebec and unfolded his project to the Governor, M. de Courcelles, and the Intendant, Talon, who readily gave the endorsement of letters patent for the enterprise. In order to procure money for the expedition, he sold his seigniory of Lachine, and bought four canoes with supplies for the journey, for which he also hired fourteen men. He joined his forces with an expedition which the Seminary was just then sending out to attempt to found a Mission among the heathen tribes of the Great West. They set out in July and journeyed together till September, passing

the mouth of the Niagara and hearing the distant roar of the great cataract. But, near the present city of Hamilton, the priests determined to make their way to the northern lakes, and La Salle parted company with them, to spend the next two years in exploring alone the interior of the continent to the southward. In the course of these wanderings, if he did not reach the Mississippi, he discovered at least the important streams of the Ohio and the Illinois. But the discovery of the "Father of Waters" was reserved for two other explorers—Louis Joliet and Père Marquette; the one a hardy and intelligent trader, the other a humble and devoted missionary.

Meantime, La Salle was still dreaming of the great river and the possibilities it opened up. His own discoveries had now convinced him that it flowed not into the "Vermilion Sea" and the Pacific, but into the Gulf of Mexico. He would take possession for France, of this water-way to the sea, with all the trade that would naturally follow it, and would found a greater New France in the fertile valleys which never knew the deep snows and bitter frosts of Northern Canada.

Just at this time the energetic and ambitious De Frontenac succeeded De Courcelles as Governor of Canada, and La Salle found in him a valuable ally. They took counsel together about the new fort, which Frontenac proposed to build on the Bay of Quinte, near the foot of Lake Ontario, and La Salle was sent to Onondaga, to summon the Iroquois sachems to meet the viceroy there for a council. But, meantime, he sent the Governor a map which convinced Frontenac that the better site would be the mouth of the Cataraqui or *Katarakoui*, the site now occupied by the city of Kingston, and the rendezvous was changed accordingly.

Frontenac, meantime, evaded the natural jealousy of the Canadian merchants by merely announcing his intention of making an armed tour westward, in order to impress the Indians, and he invited volunteers from the officers settled in the colony. He left the castle of St. Louis early in June, 1673, with his staff, a part of the garrison and the volunteers who had answered his call; on his way up the river he enjoyed the courteous hospitality of the veteran officers, now living as seigneurs in their primitive



THE HON. ROBERT BALDWIN, C.B.

log-house châteaux. On his arrival at Montreal he was greeted with all due ceremony by M. Perrot, Governor of Ville Marie.

And now began the most formidable part of his undertaking, that of conveying up the rapids of the St. Lawrence the flotilla of a hundred and twenty canoes with two flat boats gaily painted in strange designs of red and blue to please the taste of the Indians. This ascent involved long and toilsome portages or carrying of the canoes through the forest, and great labor in dragging the flat boats along the shore. As the men strove to stem the fierce current, in water often waist deep, the sharp stones cut their feet and the rapid stream nearly swept them away.

Frontenac, whose strong will and decided tone had a wonderful influence over the Indians, took his full share in the labor. He spurred on his men in person, sharing their privations and losing a night's sleep from anxiety lest the water should have got into the biscuit, but not leaving his post even while, amid drenching rain, the boatmen struggled with the furious rapids of the Long Sault. But at length the last rapid was safely passed and the little fleet glided quietly up the placid labyrinths of the Thousand Islands amid the rugged masses of lichen-scarred, pine-crested granite, and through narrow inlets that still mirror the intermingled foliage of beech and birch, maple and sumach, just as they did when Frontenac's canoes broke their glassy calm.

It was the fourteenth of July, 1673, when the flotilla approached the point where lake and river meet, the low forest-clad slope on which now stands "the limestone city" of Kingston, whose gray mass of buildings overlooks a spacious harbor, commanded by a loftier eminence crowned by a stone fort—the successor to Fort Frontenac. Frontenac's expedition, as it approached, was arranged with a view to presenting an imposing appearance. First came four lines of canoes, then the gaily-colored *bateaux* or flatboats, followed by a long train of canoes—a hundred and twenty in all. These carried, besides Indian allies, some four hundred French soldiers, chiefly men of the famous regiment of Carignan, officered from the French *noblesse*, and sent to Canada seven years before. Frontenac with his staff and the old officers who were volunteers, occupied the canoes that followed the flatboats,

and then came the rest in two divisions—the Three Rivers canoes to the right and those of the Indians to the left. The bright July sun shone on the gold-laced uniforms of the brilliant cluster of French officers, with the Governor's stately figure in the centre; and the measured beat of the paddles kept time to the strains of martial music, as the flotilla glided on over the lake-like river.

At a little distance from the shore it was met by a canoe containing Iroquois chiefs, magnificent in feathers and wampum, accompanied by the Abbé d'Urfé, their interpreter. As the old journal of the expedition tells us, "they saluted the admiral and paid their respects to him with evidence of much joy and confidence, testifying to him the obligation they were under to him for sparing them the trouble of going farther, and for receiving their submissions at the River Katarakoui, which is a very suitable place to camp, as they were about signifying to him."

The expedition landed and encamped on the shore of the bay commanding the outlet of the Catarqui, or Katarakoui, as it was then spelt, which winds quietly out from a chain of lakes now forming the "Rideau Canal," between banks begirt with marshes and then inhabited only by water-fowl, musk-rats and beaver. To the south and west, curving headlands and several large islands sheltered what the old journal calls, "one of the most beautiful and agreeable harbors in the world."

At daybreak next morning, July 15, 1673, the French drums beat, and the whole force, including Indians were drawn up under arms. The Iroquois deputies advanced between a double line of men, extending from the French camp to the tent of the Governor, who stood in official state, surrounded by his officers. After the usual formula of smoking in silence the pipe of peace, the council was opened by Garakontié, a friendly chief, who in the name of the five Iroquois Nations, expressed profound respect for the Great Ononthio, as they called the Governor. Frontenac replied in the grand paternal style which he always used so successfully with the Indians. His greeting ran thus:

"Children—Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas—I am glad to see you here, where I have a fire lighted for you to smoke by, and for

me to talk to you. You have done well, my children, to obey the command of your Father. Take courage; you will hear his word, which is full of peace and tenderness. For do not think that I have come for war. My mind is full of peace, and she walks by my side. Courage, then, children, and take rest."

Then came the welcome present of tobacco, followed by further assurances of paternal kindness with gifts of guns for the men, and prunes and raisins for the women and children, and so ended this first formal meeting between Frontenac and the grave, impassive savages, in whom he was afterwards to find most formidable foes.

Meantime, the engineer was tracing out the lines of a fort, on a site which is now a barracksquare, and the work of cutting down trees, digging trenches, hewing palisades, went on rapidly.

Frontenac, meanwhile, devoted himself to propitiating the Indians with the address which, haughty as he was, he could use so well, entertaining the chiefs at his table, making friends with the children and feasting the squaws, who amused him in the evenings with their Indian dances. After four days, during which the forts had pretty well advanced, he called another grand council of the Indians, and began his address by exhorting them to become Christians. He then hinted at his power to enforce obedience to his commands, and threatened chastisement in case they should molest his Indian allies. After again assuring them of his present friendliness, he explained that he was now building, as a proof of his affection, a storehouse from which they could be supplied on the spot with all the goods they needed, without the inconvenience of a long and dangerous journey. After warning them not to listen to mischief-makers, and to trust only "men of character like Sieur de la Salle," he ended by asking them to entrust him with a number of their children to be educated at Quebec. His address seemed to give general satisfaction, and the Iroquois, three days later, departed for their homes from whence they afterwards sent him several children, important to the French as hostages for their parents' good conduct.

Frontenac began also to send his expedition home in detachments, while he himself, with his guard, remained to receive and address in the same way

another deputation of Iroquois from the villages north of Lake Ontario. In reporting to the French Minister—Colbert—the successful accomplishment of his object, he suggested that, while the fort at Cataraqui, with a vessel then in progress, would give to the French control of Lake Ontario, a second fort at the mouth of the Niagara would command the whole chain of the upper lakes. Most of all, he congratulated himself on having "impressed the Iroquois at once with respect, fear and good-will," and secured at least a lasting truce from their long harassing raids.

During the time occupied in this expedition events were occurring, far to the southward, which were destined materially to influence the future of the new settlement.

While Frontenac was pushing his way up the furious rapids of the St. Lawrence, the canoes of Marquette and Joliet were gliding down the placid waters of the majestic Mississippi. For this long sought river was now actually discovered.

Soon after Frontenac's return to Quebec, the canoe of Joliet followed him with the good news, and though it was upset at the foot of the Lachine Rapids, he himself escaped to carry to the Governor the important tidings. La Salle's interest was, of course, intensely excited, chiefly by the representation that it was possible to go in a bark from Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, to the Gulf of Mexico, only one "carrying-place" being mentioned, at what we now know as Niagara Falls.

La Salle immediately conceived the idea of realizing his long cherished project of opening up a water-way to the southern sea, and establishing a line of military and trading posts along the whole length of this watery highway of lake and river. He would thus protect the intended route and take military possession, in the name of his royal master, of a country whose extent and richness even he had hardly any real conception.

In many respects La Salle was well-fitted for such a magnificent enterprise. His daring energy, determined will, indomitable perseverance and the dauntless endurance of his strong mental and physical constitution, seemed to supply the qualities most needed for realizing the dream that fired his imagination. But his burning enthusiasm was veiled under a shy

reserve, which he could not overcome, and which, by depriving him of the personal influence possessed by Champlain, probably made all the difference between success and failure in his tragic career. In Frontenac, however, La Salle found a discriminating and helpful friend; and he now received from the Governor the command of the new fort, where he was to reside while maturing his plans, and preparing to execute them.

But the new fort had jealous enemies among the traders of the colony, who indeed had already been clamoring for its demolition. It was therefore thought advisable that La Salle should go to France, in 1675, to submit his project to Louis himself, carrying letters of recommendation to the king's trusted minister—Colbert. He was honored with a gracious reception at court, and was raised to the rank of the untitled *noblesse* as the Sieur de la Salle. He received also on certain conditions a royal grant of Fort Frontenac and the adjacent lands now included in the county of Frontenac.

Satisfied for the present with this success, La Salle returned to Canada, and his friends, elated with his good fortune, helped him to fulfil his offer of paying back to the king the ten thousand francs which the fort had cost. He was accompanied to Canada by a friar named Hennepin, who was to take an active part in the work of exploring the still unknown wilderness. Though his gray robe with its peaked *capote*, girdle of rope and pendant crucifix, as well as his bare sandaled feet, marked him as a Franciscan monk, he was possessed by a thirst for adventure and discovery, which irresistibly attracted him to the Canadian Mission and then to the new outpost of Fort Frontenac, which he made his headquarters.

La Salle at once set to work energetically to fulfil the remaining conditions of his grant. Within two years he had replaced the original wooden fort by a much larger one, defended by stone ramparts and bastions on the landward side. It inclosed, besides the storehouse, a row of cabins of squared timber, inhabited by the garrison, a well, a mill, a forge and a bakery. Its walls were armed with nine small guns, and the garrison consisted of a dozen soldiers, two officers and a surgeon, while there were besides about fifty laborers, artisans and *voyageurs, or coureurs de bois*, a class of men almost as savage as the Indians themselves.

A large extent of land was soon cleared and a village of French colonists quickly grew up in the shadow of the fort, while a little farther on was a cluster of Iroquois wigwams. Close by was the chapel of the Récollet friar, Louis Hennepin and his colleague, Luc Buisset. The cleared meadow around the settlement was often dotted with the wigwams of the Indian traders, and alive with the busy life of the encampment and the Indian games and dances in which the Frenchmen would often join to relieve the monotony of their wilderness life.

If La Salle had only sought riches, he would have been satisfied with the yearly profits of twenty-five thousand livres gained by trading at Fort Frontenac. Here, too, he could indulge his love of solitude, and rule like a king over his little realm. But he had never meant Fort Frontenac to be anything more than a step toward industrial colonies in the rich south-western wilderness, and a commercial route down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.

In 1677, he again sailed for France, and laid before Colbert a representation of the discoveries he had made and the beauty and fertility of the country to the south and west of the Great Lakes, with its riches of game, and its advantages of climate; a country which the English colonists were already coveting for themselves. His memorial was considered, and in May, 1678, he received a royal patent authorizing him to proceed in the labor of discovery, and to build within five years as many forts as he saw fit; and giving him besides, a monopoly of buffalo hides.

Having secured several large loans by the aid of his brothers and relatives, who "spared nothing to enable him to respond worthily to the royal goodness," he sailed again from Rochelle, taking with him about thirty men and two lieutenants—La Motte and Henri de Tonti, an Italian officer who became his most faithful follower. At Quebec they were met by Father Hennepin, who had meantime been making long journeys among the villages of the Iroquois—by canoe in summer and on snow-shoes in winter—when he and his companion camped out at night in holes dug in the snow, keeping a fire burning to keep them from freezing.

A small bark of about ten tons lay at Fort Frontenac, intended for cruising on the lake, though canoes were more generally used, and La Salle's canoe-men were known as the best in America. La Motte and Hennepin, with sixteen men, embarked in it on a gusty day in November, leaving La Salle and the rest of the party to follow them westward. For shelter from the northwest gale, they ran close along the shore, and finally took refuge in a river, probably the Humber, near the present site of Toronto.

After a night of hard tossing on the lake, they succeeded in entering the Niagara River, and landed on the eastern shore, near the site of Fort Niagara, then occupied by a Seneca village. Hennepin ascended the river in a canoe till the fierce strength of the rapids stopped his further progress. He then took to the shore and pushed through the wilderness till he, first of Europeans, beheld the great cataract of Niagara Falls, descended to the foot of the cliff, and even penetrated under the fall.

La Motte immediately began to build a fort on the river, two leagues above the point of landing. He was soon joined by La Salle who had been nearly wrecked in a storm off the Bay of Quinte. He had gone first to the great village of the Senecas beyond the Genesee, and had succeeded in securing their consent, which La Motte had vainly sought before, to the building of a fort at the mouth of the Niagara, and of a vessel above the cataract.

La Salle soon met with his first misfortune, the total wreck of the vessel in which he had come, caused by the disobedience of the pilot. His men, too, housed in the little palisaded fort below the heights of Lewiston, were difficult to manage; and La Motte, disabled by inflammation of the eyes, had to return to Fort Frontenac. The building of the vessel went on, however, despite the difficulties of carrying all the lading of the small bark twelve miles through the forest, from its anchorage below Lewiston to the point where the new vessel was in progress on the shores of Lake Erie. The keel was soon laid, and the work of the carpenters advanced rapidly, despite some hostile demonstrations from the jealous Indians.

La Salle, meantime, marked out the foundations of two block-houses on the present site of Fort Niagara, and called the post after the name of one of

his great patrons, Fort Conti. In February, needing to go to Fort Frontenac, he walked all the way thither on snow-shoes, through the snow-blocked forest and over the frozen lake. A dog drew his baggage on a sled; and for food the party had only parched corn, which ran out two days before they reached Fort Frontenac.

It was August when he returned with three friends to Fort Niagara. Before that time the new vessel had been launched, with firing of cannon and great rejoicings, and anchored well out in the lake, out of reach of Indian attacks. It was named the "Griffin"—the crest of Frontenac—and La Salle used to say "that he would make the "Griffin" fly above the crows;" by which he meant the unfriendly Jesuits, who from a desire to have the newly explored territory under their own influence, and jealous of all other pioneers, were among the most determined foes of his enterprise.

At this very time his enemies had circulated reports so injurious to his credit, representing all his property in New France as having been seized by his creditors, that it was necessary for him to lose no time in setting out on his expedition. On the seventh of August, therefore, after a parting salute, the "Griffin" spread her white wings on the blue waters of Lake Erie, which had never borne a sail before. She cruised swiftly up the lakes and passed into the strait of Detroit, where the prairie to the right and left supplied abundance of game, including a number of bears whose flesh furnished excellent food.

On Lake Huron the "Griffin" was nearly wrecked in a gale, but reached safely St. Ignace, where there was a trading post and a Jesuit Mission. Here the expedition landed, and La Salle, in a scarlet, gold-embroidered mantle, knelt at mass amid a motley concourse, in the little bark chapel of the Ottawa village. He found there four out of fifteen men whom he had sent on before to prepare the Illinois Indians for his coming, and who had nearly all proved unfaithful to their trust.

Early in September he passed on into Lake Michigan and anchored at Green Bay. Being exceedingly anxious to raise money at once he unhappily determined to send back the "Griffin" to Niagara, with a valuable freight of furs collected by an advance party, while he and his men pursued their

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voyage in four canoes in which they carried a heavy cargo, including a forge and tools for future use. But a sudden equinoctial storm swooped down upon them, and they were nearly lost in the darkness, while the violence of the gale, of two days' duration, made them tremble for the safety of the "Griffin."

With difficulty they made their way along the shore of the lake against constant storms, which all but swamped their heavy-laden canoes. The Indians they met proved generally friendly, though La Salle had to take decided measures to protect the party from depredations. But he was warned against advancing among the Illinois Indians, as it seemed that his unscrupulous French enemies had purposely roused their hostility by instigating the Iroquois to attack them.

He reached safely the mouth of the St. Joseph, which he called the Miamis, where he was rejoined by Tonti and his men, who had remained at Sainte Marie looking for the deserters from the advance party. There was as yet no news of the "Griffin," which had now had plenty of time for her return voyage from Niagara, and La Salle had a dark foreboding as to her fate, but whatever betided, he must push on to his goal.

Early in December the party re-embarked and the canoes began to ascend the St. Joseph in what is now the State of Michigan, on their way to the sources of the Kankakee, one of the heads of the Illinois, which course, in turn, would lead them to the Mississippi.

After losing their way in the forest, while seeking the stream, and being nearly burned to death while sleeping in a wigwam of reeds, they made their way over desolate snow-clad plains to the Kankakee, on which they re-embarked, following its winding course through the great prairies of Indiana, where the half-starved party occasionally caught a buffalo. They passed on into the valleys of Illinois, and, near the present village of Utica, they found the empty bark lodges of a great Indian town whose inhabitants were absent on their winter hunt. Near Peoria Lake, however, they found a village of inhabited wigwams, and had a peaceful interview with the people who were at first terrified by the appearance of the eight armed canoes. La Salle told these Illinois Indians of his intention to build a great wooden canoe in which

to descend the Mississippi and bring them needed goods; and promised to help them against the dreaded Iroquois if they would allow him to build a fort among them.

His footsteps were dogged, however, by a Missouri chief, sent by his malicious enemies to poison the minds of the Illinois against him, by representing him as an Iroquois spy, a suspicion of which he ere long succeeded in disabusing them. Poison of a more material sort, too, seems to have been tried to shorten his career, as it had already been tried at Fort Frontenac.

Six mutinous members of his band, including two of his best carpenters, deserted him here—a desertion that cut him to the heart, and made him feel that in addition to the difficulties of his enterprise, he had scarcely four men whom he could trust. It is no wonder that, when, in January, he built his new fort on a hill above the Illinois River, he called it Fort Crèvecœur—Fort Heartbreak. In addition to other vexations, he was now convinced of the loss of the "Griffin" which had probably been sunk by her treacherous pilot.

As the lost ship had on board not only a valuable cargo of furs, but also the rigging and anchors of the vessel to be built for the descent of the Mississippi, it was necessary for La Salle to return all the way to Fort Frontenac, if he were to persevere in the enterprise. Happily, before his departure, he received information from friendly Indians that the Mississippi was not beset with dangers and obstacles, but was easily navigable to the sea, and that the tribes on its banks would give him a kind reception.

Therefore, after seeing the new vessel on the stocks and well on its way to completion, he sent Père Hennepin to explore the Illinois, while he set out on his dreary journey to Fort Frontenac over the still frozen wilderness; though, as it was March, the streams were in some cases open. Partly by snow-shoes, partly by canoe—sometimes obliged to leave canoes behind and to make a new one to cross a swollen stream—often waist deep in ice-cold water, or pressing through thickets or marshes, or climbing rocks loaded with necessary baggage, they retraced their way to Lake Michigan. At Fort

St. Joseph they found the two men left to make a vain search for the "Griffin," and sent them back to join Tonti at Fort Crèvecœur.

After many delays caused by the difficulties of the way, they reached the log cabin on the banks of the Niagara, where the "Griffin" had been built, and where some of the men had been left. In La Salle's case misfortunes indeed "never came single." Here tidings of a new calamity awaited him. In addition to the loss of the "Griffin," and ten thousand crowns in her cargo, a ship coming to him from France, with goods to the value of twenty-two thousand livres, had been wrecked at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and a band of men hired for service in Europe, had been either detained by the Intendant, or led by reports of his death to return.

Leaving his three exhausted followers at Niagara, La Salle, still undaunted, pushed on through the floods of spring rain to Fort Frontenac, after his perilous journey of a thousand miles—"the most arduous journey ever made by Frenchmen in America;" and that is saying a great deal.

Here there was little but trouble in store for him. His agents had robbed him, his creditors had seized his property, and the rapids of the St. Lawrence had swallowed up several richly-laden canoes. He hurried on to Montreal, astonishing both friends and foes by his arrival, and succeeded within a week in getting the supplies they needed for the party at Crèvecœur. But just as he was leaving Fort Frontenac two *voyageurs* arrived with letters from Tonti telling him of the desertion of nearly the whole garrison, after destroying the fort, and plundering it, and throwing into the river all the stores they could not carry off. The deserters, twenty in number, had also destroyed Fort St. Joseph, carried off a store of furs from Michillimacinac, and plundered the magazine at Niagara. Some of them had taken refuge on the English side of the lake, while the rest were on their way to Fort Frontenac, with the design of killing La Salle himself.

La Salle was always ready for an emergency. He embarked at once in canoes, with nine of his trustiest men, lay in wait for the plunderers as they came down the shore of the lake, and succeeded in intercepting them all, killing two, compelling the rest to surrender, and taking them as prisoners to Fort Frontenac. All his work had now to be begun anew; but however the

accumulated disasters may have tried his courage, he could not give way to despair. He must at once go in search of Tonti, and if possible save him and his handful of men, as well as the half-finished vessel on the stocks. Taking with him the necessary material, his Lieutenant, La Forêt, and twenty-five men, he again journeyed westward, taking, this time, the shorter route of the Humber, Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron through a hostile country, where he could with difficulty procure provisions from the jealous Indians. At the ruined Fort Miamis, on the St. Joseph, he left five of his men with the heavy stores and hurried on, his anxiety for Tonti being increased by the rumor of a threatened invasion by the Iroquois.

As he and his men passed through the wide prairies, now alive with buffalo, they secured abundance of food wherewith to relieve Tonti and his party should they succeed in finding him. Approaching the great Illinois town they found ghastly proof that the Iroquois invasion was no mere rumor, for it was indeed a city of the dead. The invaders had evidently found it deserted by its living inhabitants and they wreaked their malice on the corpses they had disinterred and mangled, leaving them a prey to the wolf and the vulture. Farther on they passed six deserted camps of the flying Illinois, and on the opposite shore, the traces of encampments of the pursuing Iroquois. They reached Fort Crèvecœur at last, to find it ruined and deserted; and though the vessel on the stocks was not destroyed, its nails and spikes had been drawn out, and on one of its planks were inscribed the words: "*Nous sommes tous sauvages, 1680.*" The date showed plainly enough that however savage the destroyers had been, they were not, at any rate, Indian savages.

Pursuing their course down the stream of the Illinois, the little band in three or four days reached its mouth and glided out on the placid waters of the broad river. La Salle was at last on the long dreamed of Mississippi. But the present load of anxiety left little room for exultation. On an over-hanging tree he hung a hieroglyphic letter for Tonti, should he pass that way, representing himself and his men in their canoes, holding the pipe of peace. His companions offered to accompany him should he choose to go on to the sea; but he would not abandon the men he had left nor discontinue

his search for Tonti. On their way back, paddling by night as well as by day, they saw the great comet of 1680, from which Newton discovered the regular revolution of comets round the sun. La Salle, unlike the ordinary observers of the time, noted it, not with superstitious dread, but with purely scientific interest.

Ascending towards Lake Huron by a different branch of the river, the party came upon a rude bark cabin, in which La Salle's quick eye discovered a bit of wood cut by a saw, a proof, he thought, of its recent occupation by Tonti and his party.

Through a severe snowstorm of nineteen days' duration, accompanied by severe cold, the wayfarers at last reached Fort Miamis, which had been restored by the men left there, in addition to their work of preparing timber for a new vessel for the lake. Here La Salle spent the winter, laying plans for colonizing the valleys of the Illinois and the Mississippi, and for inviting the Western tribes to make a defensive league under the French flag, which should gradually change a savage battle-ground into a civilized Christian community. It was Champlain's old scheme under new conditions; but as before it had no stable foundation. At first, however, he won over a number of allies from the Illinois and other tribes, and after calling a grand council and exhorting them to become "children of the Great King," he set out in May, 1681, to revisit Fort Frontenac.

At Green Bay, on Lake Michigan, he at last found Tonti with the Friar Membré. After many stirring adventures, having nobly espoused the cause of the friendly Illinois, and acted as mediators between them and the Iroquois, they had safely reached this point on their way home. Each had much to tell; but La Salle's tale of misfortune was told with such cheerful calmness that the friar regarded with astonishment and admiration his firm front under calamity, and his determination to pursue his aim, when "any one else would have thrown up his hand, and abandoned the enterprise."

Paddling their canoes a thousand miles farther, La Salle again reached Fort Frontenac, where he had to do his best to retrieve his embarrassed affairs. He went to Montreal and succeeded in getting new credit by parting with some of his monopolies. Then he once more set out with a band of

thirty Frenchmen and more than a hundred Indians, for the south-western wilderness. His laden canoes once more paddled slowly along Lake Huron, and were beached at last on a gray November day, at Fort Miamis. Weakened by the desertion of some of his band he pursued his way down the Misissippi in canoes, holding peaceable interviews with the Indian tribes on the shore, till at last on the sixth of April, his canoes glided down the three mouths of the Mississippi and out on the shoreless expanse of the Gulf of Mexico. Here a wooden column was prepared bearing the arms of France and inscribed with the words: "*Louis Le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre régne: Le Neuvième Avril, 1682.*" Then in presence of his few weather-beaten Frenchmen, he formally took possession of the whole country south of the Alleghanies, under the name of Louisiana, for the King of France. A volley of musketry and the chanting of the grand hymn of the *Vexilla Regis* celebrated this addition to new France, which made it the nominal possessor of nearly the whole North American continent.

At last, then, after almost incredible toil and suffering, La Salle had accomplished this part of his scheme. The work of colonization had yet to be begun, but there were many lions in the way.

As the expedition made its way up the Mississippi, contending with famine and hostile Indians, La Salle was seized with a dangerous illness which detained him so long that it was September before he joined Tonti at Michillimacinac. Had he succeeded in building his vessel for the descent he could have sailed on to France with a valuable cargo of buffalo hides. As it was now too late to go to France for the money he needed, he and Tonti proceeded to entrench themselves for the winter near the Indian town on a high and bold rock overlooking the Illinois and its fertile valley, calling his new post by the favorite name of Fort St. Louis. Round its wooden ramparts assembled, for protection against the Iroquois, some twenty thousand Indians of various tribes, including four thousand warriors. Here La Salle seems to have enjoyed one of his last gleams of happiness, rejoicing in this earnest of success, and seeing in imagination, a great and prosperous colony growing up to possess and subdue the wilderness.

But, in order to maintain his influence over the Indians, he must have arms to defend them and goods for merchandise, which must at present be brought from Canada. He knew the bitterness of his enemies, but in Frontenac he had an invaluable friend. But now a new blow fell on the ill-fated La Salle. His enemies had intrigued for even the recall of Frontenac on the ground of alleged charges against him. His successor was Lefèbvre de la Barre, a weak and avaricious old man, who soon made common cause with La Salle's enemies. His misrepresentations reached Louis himself at Fontainbleau, who was led to believe that La Salle's discovery was useless and his enterprise even mischievous.

While La Salle was still in happy ignorance at Fort St. Louis, the Governor cut off his supplies, detained his messengers, and even said at a conference with the Iroquois who were being urged by the English and Dutch traders to attack Western tribes, that they were welcome to plunder and kill the adventurous discoverer. This malicious persecution culminated in the Governor's seizure of Fort Frontenac, on pretense that some of the conditions of the grant had been unfulfilled. The threatened invasion of the Iroquois which spread terror through the region of the Illinois did not take place, but, with the Governor his enemy, La Salle's situation was intolerable; and bidding a final farewell, as it turned out, to Fort St. Louis and to Canada, he sailed on his last voyage to France.

In Paris his friends and patrons gained him access to Louis the Fourteenth, and in a private audience he unfolded his discoveries and his great designs. It happened opportunely for him, that France was then desirous of checking the Spanish pretensions to exclusive possession of the Gulf of Mexico, and as his proposals exactly fell in with this desire, they found great favor at Court. It would seem as if La Salle's usually calm judgment had been blinded by the exigencies of the situation and disturbed by the numberless calamities that had befallen him, for part of the scheme submitted to the king was a proposal to lead an army of fifteen thousand Indians against the Spaniards of Mexico. This proposal was seriously entertained by Louis the Fourteenth and his ministers, who had no means of knowing the difficulties in the way.

La Salle received all the power he asked for, and was expected to perform what he proposed, while the Governor was ordered to restore all the possessions so unjustly seized. Four vessels, instead of the two he had asked for, were given to La Salle for his voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, and a numerous body of soldiers and colonists for the proposed colony was mustered at Rochelle.

In July, 1684, after many delays, the little squadron set sail. This opens the last and most painful chapter of La Salle's tragic career. It would seem as if the long-continued nervous strain had told at last, even on his strong, self-contained nature. His imperious and haughty manner had always been one of the drawbacks to his success, but now he seemed to become suspicious and vacillating as well as exacting and impatient. He appeared unable to make up his mind as to the course before starting, and there were unhappy bickerings between him and the naval commander Dé Beaujeu, a somewhat irascible old seaman tenacious of his dignity, while La Salle could not endure a divided command. Misfortune as usual seemed to pursue him. At St. Domingo, where they halted, he was seized with a dangerous illness aggravated by the news of the loss of one of his smaller vessels.

When the expedition reached the Gulf of Mexico, La Salle unhappily missed the point where the Mississippi by several passages flows into the Gulf. Uncertain as to the longitude of the river he passed it by some four hundred miles and halted instead on the shore of Matagorda Bay. Here he landed his men, and thinking he had reached his goal, prepared to establish the colony. To complete the tale of misfortune another vessel was wrecked on a reef and ere long the large gunship, the "Joly," being out of supplies was obliged to sail away.

When La Salle finally discovered his mistake, he found it necessary to form a temporary establishment for the colonists at the mouth of the Texan river Lavaca, where the colonizing party were lodged in huts and hovels, while many of them fell victims to disease and death under the burning tropical sun.

In the following October, La Salle with his brother, the Abbé and an armed party set out in quest of his, "fatal river," but in March he and his

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men returned exhausted, after fruitless wanderings and adventures with savage tribes. This vain journey added to the loss of his last vessel threw him into another dangerous illness. But on his recovery, still undaunted he determined to make another attempt to find his way back to Canada by the Mississippi and the Illinois to procure succour for the destitute colony. He set out again in April, 1686, with about twenty of his men fitted out in garments patched with much care, or borrowed from those who remained in the fort. They were obliged, however, to return without other result than the exploring of a magnificent country, and a visit, to a powerful and remarkable tribe of Indians, called the Cenis, long since extinct.

La Salle's colonists, now reduced to forty-five, had grown heartsick and impatient of their long exile and imprisonment in the little palisaded village; and the only hope of deliverance lay in another attempt to procure aid from Canada. But again La Salle was prostrated by illness—doubtless the outcome of the many heart-breaks of his life. As soon as his strength was restored, however, he prepared once more to turn his steps northward. With about half of the survivors—some twenty-five men—La Salle for the last time left the fort, after a solemn, religious service, and a sad and affectionate farewell of the little party left behind.

La Salle had long endured undaunted "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." One other, which released him from all, was in store for him.

The career of heroic perseverance, which neither savage nature, nor illness, nor Indian barbarians, nor the persecution of bitter enemies had been able to turn aside, was to be prematurely cut short by a wretched quarrel among his own followers. In March, as he and his party were encamped in the northern part of Texas, a few of his men set out on a hunting expedition. A dispute arising about the division of the game, three of the men were murdered by the rest, who then saw no chance of safety from punishment except by the death of their brave leader.

On March 19, 1637, La Salle, uneasy at the long absence of the hunters, set out in search of them. As he walked on with Friar Donay through the Texan wilderness, the spiritual world seemed to be uppermost in his thoughts.

"All the way," wrote the friar, "he spoke to me of nothing but matters of piety, grace and predestination, enlarging on the debt he owed to God, who had saved him from so many perils during more than twenty years of travel in America." Suddenly he seemed overwhelmed by a profound and unaccountable sadness. Recovering from this his keen eye noticed two eagles circling in the air as if attracted by some carcass. He fired his gun as a signal to any of his men within hearing, and immediately after one of the conspirators appeared and answered his inquires with ostentatious insolence. La Salle rebuked him and unconsciously drew near an ambuscade from which a traitor called Duhaut, fired on him and the dauntless leader fell dead. Thus by the bullet of a treacherous assassin, was closed the tragic career of one of the most heroic spirits of a heroic age, who against all odds, had pursued for twenty years an object that seemed ever destined to elude him just as he was on the point of achieving success. The recital would seem almost too sad but for the light of heroic endurance that shines upon his story.

The assassin Duhaut, by a righteous retribution soon after met a similar death. La Salle's companions at length succeeded in making their way to the faithful Tonti, who still occupied the rock of St. Louis on the Illinois.

The brave and generous Tonti, as chivalrous as La Salle himself, full of grief for his leader, made an ineffectual attempt to rescue the wretched survivors of the colony on the Gulf of Mexico who eventually fell victims to a murdering band of Indians in the total absence of succour which the "Magnificent" Louis could so easily have afforded to those ill-fated victims of his ambition.

Fort Frontenac figured repeatedly in the troublous times which were now hanging over New France, and was the scene of an infamous act of treachery by the Governor De Denonville, which provoked the terrible massacre of Lachine.

La Salle fell in the midst of unfulfilled designs, but, where he had gone before, others were to follow and reap the result of his labors. Some twenty years later under happier auspices Le Moyne d'Iberville founded the present State of Louisiana, which still stands in its largely French character, a monument to the heroism and devotion of its first French explorers.

CHAPTER VI.

COUNT DE FRONTENAC.

Frontenac the Most Conspicuous Figure in the History of New France—Of a Noble Basque Family—A Soldier at Fifteen—Marries Anne de la Grange-Trianon—At the Siege of Candia—Appointed Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France—Hopes to Build a Great Empire on the Banks of the St. Lawrence—Makes Radical Changes in the Government of Quebec and Canada—Censured by the Home Government for Introducing Changes—His Quarrels with the Intendant and the Clergy—A Friend of La Salle's—His Quarrelsome Nature Forces the King to Recall Him—The Marquis de Denonville Lays Waste the Country of the Senecas—The Iroquois Retaliate with the Massacre of Lachine—Frontenac Sent to Canada to Save the Colony—Plans the Conquest of New England—Three War Parties Sent by Him Against the English Settlers—Their Success Gives New Life to New France—New England Plans the Invasion of Canada—The Expedition Against Montreal a Failure—Sir William Phips Lays Siege to Quebec—Frontenac's Vigorous Resistance—Phips' Fleet Hopelessly Defeated—The People of Quebec Do Honor to Frontenac—Rewarded by the French King—Plans to Drive the English from North America—Sends an Expedition Against the Mohawks—Its Success Gains the Confidence of the Western Indians—Personally Leads an Expedition Against the Iroquois—Returns to Quebec—Old Quarrels Renewed—Death of Frontenac, November 28, 1698—Mourned by All Classes in the Colony—Character of Frontenac.

OF all the governors of New France, Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, stands out on the pages of history as the most conspicuous figure. He had a strangely mixed character; he was arrogant, over-bearing, tyrannical and yet possessed of such force, and energy, and wisdom that he did more than any other man during the time of French occupation in America to establish French rule on a firm basis. He came to Canada at a critical time in her history; a time when on the one hand a sparse population settled along the St. Lawrence was in danger of annihilation from the savage Indians of the Six Nations, and when the struggle which was ultimately to end in the conquest of Canada by the British was in its initial stages. He managed to avert the danger from the Iroquois and to postpone for many years the loss of New France. It was his striking and magnetic personality that enabled him to face the difficult situation he found in

Canada, and had there been a Frontenac in Quebec when Wolfe came against the rocky fortress it is doubtful if the British troops would have succeeded in capturing the city. Certainly Frontenac would never have allowed his troops to face in a pitched battle the veterans composing Wolfe's force.

This illustrious governor was an aristocrat of an ancient and noble Basque family. His father held a high position at the court of Louis XIII, and the king became Frontenac's god-father and had him christened Louis after himself. From his earliest years young Frontenac showed a passion for the life of a soldier, and at the age of fifteen was sent to the seat of war in Holland to serve under the Prince of Orange. He saw much fighting and before his twenty-third year had distinguished himself in a number of battles and sieges. His services were appreciated by his king, and, when twenty-three years old, he was made a colonel in the regiment of Normandy. He continued in the field and was several times wounded and in one engagement had an arm broken. When he was twenty-six years old he was raised to the rank of Maréchal de Camp (brigadier-general). He does not seem to have seen much active service after attaining this high military rank, but returned to Paris where he enjoyed a season of peace and spent his time in entertaining and being entertained.

It was during this time of peace that Frontenac met Anne de la Grange-Trianon, the beautiful daughter of one Sieur de Neuville. He fell passionately in love with this girl, and, after a romantic courtship, which was opposed by the father and friends of his fiancée, they were married in 1648. From the beginning, the marriage seems to have been an unhappy one. It could hardly have been otherwise; they were both strong characters and Frontenac's over-bearing manner and passionate bursts of temper could not fail to make a woman of character and intellect unhappy.

For twenty years but little is known of the life of Frontenac. During these years he entertained extravagantly, and on a small income endeavored to keep pace with the most fashionable grandees of Paris. In 1669, Venetian ambassadors came to the court of France asking aid against the Turks. For several years the Turks had been attacking Candia in overwhelming numbers, and the Venetians felt that without the aid of France it would soon fall.

They requested forces, and likewise that a French officer should be placed in command of the troops operating against the Turks. The task of conducting these operations would need both courage and energy, and it speaks well for Frontenac that he was chosen for this important command. Candia fell, but so ably did Frontenac conduct the campaign that lustre was added to his name, and he was recognized as one of the ablest soldiers of his time.

Three years after his return from the Candia expedition he was appointed Governor and Lieutenant-General for the king in the colony of New France. According to writers of the period, his extravagance had left him deeply in debt and his domestic life was intensely unhappy. It was said that the king gave him this appointment "to deliver him from his wife and afford him some means of living." This can hardly be true, for although Frontenac and his wife were not congenial companions, during the whole course of their lives they seem to have had much respect for each other, and while he was in the wilderness of Canada Madame Frontenac was his most active partizan in the court of France and looked keenly after his interests.

Frontenac was not a young man when he set out for Canada. He had reached his fifty-second year, but was still youthful, fiercely passionate and possessed of a stubborn will. He was a courtier, and it seems strange that such a man should have been sent to rule over the vast wildernesses of Canada; but Frontenac was able to conform to his environment, and indeed from the moment he saw the shores of Canada he loved the country. The vast River St. Lawrence with its thickly wooded banks attracted his eye, and when he reached the lofty rock of Quebec a second Gibraltar, he held it as a fitting place to be the capital of a great empire and resolved within himself to firmly base such an empire.

As soon as he landed in Quebec he at once began to look after the interests of the colony. He did not wait for reports with regard to the country from the officials under him, but examined for himself every detail of the government, and anxiously inquired from all classes as to the needs of Canada. He conversed with traders, with hunters, with fishermen, and was soon thoroughly familiar with the land he had come to govern. One of his

first acts was to convoke a Council at Quebec and administer the oath of allegiance. He had his own ideas as to how Canada should be governed. The three orders of the State no longer assembled in France, but Frontenac thought that some such form of government might be adopted with advantage in Canada and he determined to establish these orders in the New World. The Jesuits and Seminary priests formed the first order, a few nobles and several officers served for the second, and the merchants and citizens for the third. It looked for a time as if the clergy, the nobles, and the commons were to have a voice in the ruling of Canada. He formed the members of the Council and the magistrates into a distinct body. When everything was ready for his new form of government the Jesuits lent him their church, and in it, on the 23rd of October, the three estates were convoked with suitable pomp and splendor. On this occasion Frontenac delivered a paternal and eloquent address to his children, for such he already began to consider the people of Canada, and after administering the oath of allegiance the assembly was dismissed.

Quebec was the centre of the life of the colony, and in Frontenac's opinion it was necessary to have a firm municipal government in the town. He proposed to establish one on the model of some of the French cities of his time. He ordered the public election of three alderman, of whom the senior should act as mayor; having done this he proposed with the assistance of the chief citizens to draw up a body of regulations for the government of the town. He went a step further in the direction of popular government; he ordained that a meeting should be held every six months for the discussion of public questions. Popular government was a thing frowned upon by the king of France, and some of the leading officials recognized that Frontenac's action would prove offensive to the French court. Talon, the Intendant, refused to attend the meeting, and when Colbert, the great Minister, heard of Frontenac's action he warned him against popular government, and pointed out that the meeting of the States-General had not been permitted for many years in France; and in a diplomatic way and with mild censure, forbade him to establish popular government.

From the beginning of his rule Frontenac had a succession of quarrels with the leading men in the colony. He was a man, by culture, travel and experience, far superior to his confederates, and he was impatient of their opposition to his wishes. He was on the eve of a quarrel with Talon when the Intendant was recalled to France. However, he managed to become embroiled with the clergy at a very early date in his rule and began that antagonism to the Jesuits which ended only with his death. He took a lively interest in the Indians, and put forth every effort to civilize them. He had a genuine affection for the red men, and this affection was returned; he called them children and they looked up to him as a father. His motives in treating the Indians generously were not altogether unmixed, as he was, like all other men in the colony, interested in the fur-trade. The clergy were not above trade, and Frontenac bitterly complained that the Jesuits thought more of "beaver-skins than of souls."

It was during his first term that he was attracted towards La Salle and it was due to Frontenac's admiration for that dauntless discoverer that the great West and the Mississippi became known to the world. The monopoly granted La Salle, as has already been seen in that distinguished discoverer's life, embroiled Frontenac with Perrot, the Governor of Montreal, and the priests of that community. The quarrel was a bitter one, and echoes of it reached the court at France, but the king and his minister showed marvellous forbearance with Frontenac.

They took measures, however, to curb his power. Up to this time the appointment and removal of councillors had rested, in the absence of the bishop, solely with the Governor. It was now ordained that the councillors should be appointed by the king himself, and this naturally served as a check on Frontenac.

After the recall of the Intendant Talon, Frontenac for a time ruled alone, but Bishop Laval and another Intendant, Duchesneau, arrived in New France. Bishop Laval was as little capable of bearing opposition to his wishes as was Frontenac. He had quarreled with all the previous governors under whom he had served, and was not long in the country before he was at daggers-drawn with the new governor. His quarrel was a righteous one;

Frontenac, for gain, was interested in the trade in brandy, and to this nefarious business Laval would lend no countenance.

Frontenac quarreled, too, with the Intendant about the honors and precedence at church and in religious ceremonies. Bitter letters passed between the colony and old France, and in due time these quarrels were settled only to give way to others. Frontenac was warned to be careful, but he could brook no opposition, and banished without just cause two councillors, Villeray and Tilly, and the attorney-general, Auteuil, from Quebec. This was too much for the king, and he wrote an angry letter to his governor saying that, but for the pleading of Frontenac's friends and the assurance that he would act with more moderation in the future, and never again fall into like offence, he would have recalled him. Colbert wrote him with equal severity.

Frontenac, however, could not keep out of quarrels and he was soon in the midst of one brought on by the fur-trade in which he was interested. Duchesneau was at the head of one faction in the country and the Governor at the head of another. The whole colony took sides and letters denouncing Frontenac and Duchesneau reached the Minister. Duchesneau bitterly accused Frontenac of using his office for his own aggrandisement and of abusing the great trust the king had confided in him. Frontenac on the other hand accused Duchesneau of insubordination and falsehood. So fierce was this party-quarrel that blows were given and on several occasions swords were drawn in the streets of Quebec. It got to such a pitch that, at length, the king decided to recall both Frontenac and Duchesneau. He could not have done otherwise; and yet it was a sad day for the colony when Frontenac sailed from Quebec. He had begun the work of reconciling the Indians and had done much to win the wavering ones to the French. By his removal the good work he had initiated was lost, and the colony was to pass through a bloody trial, but in the hour of supreme need Frontenac was to return to save it.

When Frontenac was recalled to France an Indian war was threatening the colony and La Barre, the new governor, a soldier inexperienced in the warfare of America, was not the man to cope with the situation. At this

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE

MARQUIS DE MONTCALM

time, the English of New York were, in the interests of trade, stirring up the Indians against the French. La Barre determined to march against the Iroquois and made preparations for the invasion of their country. In 1684, he left Montreal and with a considerable body of men advanced as far as Fort Frontenac; here, he patched up a truce with the Iroquois which was in no way a credit to France. He was a failure; the government recognized it and recalled him.

The Marquis de Denonville was the next governor. He found that the truce made by La Barre with the Iroquois had in no way altered their attitude towards the colony; they still were threatening war and were backed up by the English. Denonville determined to march into their country and to punish them in such a way that they would no longer be a menace to New France. Scarcely had he taken over the reins of government when he acted in a most treacherous manner toward the Indians, and it was largely due to this treachery that the colony was threatened with annihilation. He collected large forces and advanced into the country of the Senecas. The Indians were unable to cope with his army and fled before him. Their villages were burned and their crops and hidden stores of grain destroyed; he, however, succeeded in killing or capturing but few of the savages. His work done he returned to Montreal leaving a legacy of hate in the hearts of the Iroquois against the French which was to end in the massacre of Lachine. In 1689, the Iroquois were in a position to retaliate for Denonville's invasion, and with a strong force of experienced warriors they invaded Canada. They fell upon the settlement at Lachine and massacred men, women and children. For three weeks they remained in the vicinity of Montreal burning, pillaging and murdering, and then returned to their own country leaving the colony in a weak and helpless condition.

Meanwhile Frontenac was at the court of France, out of favor and with an empty purse. The king, however, was changing towards him; the weak administrations of La Barre and Denonville made him realize that a mistake had been made when Frontenac was recalled. With all his faults, with all his stubbornness, he was the only man apparently capable of grappling with

the Canadian situation, and even before the news of the Iroquois invasion of Canada had reached France, the king had resolved to restore him to the governorship of the provinces. Frontenac was now seventy years old, but despite his years he was still strong and active and fearlessly undertook the task allotted him. On his appointment he went to Rochelle where two ships of the Royal Navy awaited him and sailed for Quebec.

On the voyage out his mind was busy planning a campaign against the English; they were the prime cause of the evils that had befallen New France and he determined, if possible, to separate the Indians from the English, and thus pave the way for the conquest of New England by the French. When he reached Quebec the country was still terrorized by the dreadful news of the Lachine massacre and the inhabitants hailed their old Governor as their deliverer. All the citizens turned out to meet him and he was conducted through the city with pomp and display, but there was no time to delay; the upper country needed him and he made haste to reach Montreal. Here the inhabitants were in an abject condition and the late Governor Denonville was as terrified as the rest. Frontenac proceeded to Lachine and saw the awful desolation made by the Iroquois butchers, and his heart was filled with anger against those who had incited them to invade Canada. He learned that Denonville had ordered Fort Frontenac to be destroyed. He was anxious to save his old fort and sent countermanding orders, but before they arrived the place had been partially blown up and deserted.

His presence worked a marvellous change in the situation; the people took heart and the Indian allies who had been holding aloof prepared to join forces with the French now that Frontenac was once more in authority. He saw that to gain the full confidence of the Western Indians it would be necessary to perform a deed that would re-establish respect for the soldiers of France, and he was not long in hitting upon a plan that would at once cause suffering to the English and win the respect of the Indian allies.

Knowing that the English would suppose that the great barrier of snow-drifts and ice bound rivers raised by the winter storms between themselves and the French gave them comparative safety he determined to

take them by surprise. For this purpose he called together his best marksmen and tried soldiers and planned with some of the friendly Indians a threefold invasion on the unsuspecting foe.

Frontenac permitted no delay in getting up the parties which were to work such havoc on his enemies and at once began at Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec to fit them out for their winter march. That mustered at Montreal was the first ready and at once started for the South. They had a terrible march and the men were almost exhausted when they reached the Mohawk River on whose banks Schenectady was built, but the sight of this town cheered their drooping spirits, and at midnight, when the inhabitants—honest Dutch people under English rule—who had been feasting during the day were fast asleep, the Indians and *coureurs de bois* fell upon them, and spared no one from the grey-haired grandsire to the babe nestling at the breast. At last their leaders commanded them to cease, but not before death and desolation had visited every house. This war-party then successfully beat a retreat to Montreal.

The second war-party left Three Rivers about the end of January with the intention of attacking Salmon Falls, a small settlement on the line separating New Hampshire from Maine. When the place was reached a midnight attack was made. The town was unguarded and the French had no opposition in their work of death and plunder. A few of the inhabitants escaped and a large party of Englishmen set out in pursuit of the retreating enemy, but due to the heroism of Hertel, the French leader, they were unable to destroy or capture the marauding band. The third war-party set out from Quebec and leisurely journeyed southward for four months. Its destination was Fort Loyal on Casco Bay. At first the party consisted of one hundred and ten men, but on their frequent halts they had been joined by many others eager to take vengence on their English enemies, and as they drew near Fort Loyal they numbered between four and five hundred. A vigorous resistance was made, but at length the commander of the Fort, Captain Sylvanus Davis, was induced to surrender on condition that mercy should be shown to the garrison, and that they should be allowed to retreat to the nearest English village. The promise was not kept, and when the inhabitants filed out of the

fort the Indians fell upon them with tomahawks and scalping knives and slew many, even women and children, with brutal torture.

About the middle of June this last of the three famous war-parties arrived in Quebec with Davis and four more prisoners, the sole survivors of the massacre.

Such was Frontenac's method of teaching the English a lesson. These war-parties had been sent out to show that the arm of the French colony was still strong to smite. It had been intended by these pitiless deeds to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies and to give life and vigor to those at home. In the latter Frontenac succeeded, even beyond what he had expected. From Quebec to Montreal the joy-bells rang out and those who were beginning to long for Old France felt that they might yet found a worthy New France in America. Frontenac was the man of the hour—all alike did honor to him for his quickness of action.

The havoc wrought by the three war-parties roused in the English colonies a spirit of revenge, and they determined to make a united effort to crush their enemies to the north. For this end they felt, that beside their own strength, they would require the assistance of the motherland. A swift-sailing ship was sent to England to explain their troubles to the home government and ask for men, money and vessels. But England had neither the means nor the inclination of helping her children. Nothing dismayed the colonies went on with their preparations for the invasion of Canada. Not having sufficient means to fight their enemy to advantage they decided to do it at their enemy's expense, and Sir William Phips was sent from Boston with seven vessels to ravage Acadia.

After capturing Port Royal (Annapolis) and despoiling other villages along the coast of the Bay of Fundy, he returned to Boston laden with spoil, and so removed the chief difficulty that had delayed the invasion. Preparations were now hurried on, as the English were anxious to invade Canada before the following winter. A two-fold invasion, by land and water, was planned to strike both the strongholds of the French possessions at once. The land force, under generals Winthrop and Schuyler, was to march on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, while the fleet, sailing

round the coast, was to glide swiftly up the St. Lawrence and surprise Quebec.

The expedition on Montreal was a total failure. Insufficient arrangements had been made for providing the necessaries of life, and the troops found themselves almost within sight of the enemy's country with but little food or clothing and no means of obtaining them. The Iroquois, too, failed to give the expected help, and they were compelled to beat an inglorious and hasty retreat to Albany.

The fleet under Sir William Phips and Major Walley, had at least the glory of reaching its destination. It looked tolerably imposing with thirty-two ships, great and small, the largest carrying forty-four guns, the smallest being a fishing smack. Phips had under his command about twenty-two hundred men, including sailors; an exceedingly large force when we consider how few people then inhabited New England, and that thirteen hundred men were with Winthrop and Schuyler marching on Montreal.

Although the force was large it could not be called strong. The soldiers were principally farmers and fishermen, quite unaccustomed to the use of warlike weapons, and the commanders of the vessels were ship-owners and ship captains who had neither had experience in the management of artillery, nor in the use of small arms. The militia officers were recruited from the merchant's desk and the plough, so they had yet to learn the art of war. The lesson they received may have helped them to train their children to be true and gallant soldiers as they afterwards proved themselves, both in helping the motherland in her wars with Canada, and in their own successful blow for independence. This fleet, with its untutored warriors, sailed from Nantasket on the ninth of August, 1690, followed by prayers for success from the pulpit of every church and the hearth of every home in New England.

What was now the state of the French colonists and what had they been doing all this time? They had long been struggling against the continual attacks of the hostile Indians. The outlying villages could never feel perfectly at rest, and the inhabitants were often aroused by the terrible whoops of the painted savages, or by the shrieks of some of their dying friends. Tidings of farmers slain and houses plundered and burnt were

constantly being brought into the forts. This weakened and depressed the French colonists, and Frontenac, the energetic old Governor, determined to do all in his power to gain the friendship of the Indians. Succeed he did, but not without difficulty. He even went so far as to lay aside his dignity and join them in one of their warlike dances, outdoing the most energetic of the red men in their own sport, much to their amusement and admiration.

Frontenac's success in treating with the Indians and the success of the three war-parties had for the time made the colonists feel much safer than they had done for years. France was now embroiled in a European war; and, like England, could render no assistance to her offspring; so the two colonies were left to fight it out alone on the American continent. If there was any advantage the English had the best prospects, both in numbers and resources, but an invading army fighting in a foreign land has not the inspiration of that which is defending hearth and home. This fact perhaps made up for the difference in numbers. Then, too, the French had been more constantly engaged in war and this had given their soldiers the experience of veterans.

Scarcely had Montreal rejoiced over the news that Winthrop and Schuyler had retired to Albany when Frontenac, at Montreal, was informed that a fleet was advancing on Quebec. At first he could scarcely believe it, but his doubts were dispelled when he learned that an Indian had brought the tidings all the way from the shores of Maine. This Indian, an Abenaqui, discovered from a woman captured by his tribe that a large fleet had shortly before left Boston for Quebec. Being friendly to the French he determined to warn them of the impending danger. There was but one way of doing this, and that was by speeding on foot across the country from his Abenaqui home to Quebec.

As the danger threatening Montreal was removed, Frontenac, the hope of the Canadians, at once started for Quebec, and on the way met a messenger sent by his lieutenant, Prevost, to warn him that the fleet was reported at Tadousac. Frontenac, before leaving Montreal had ordered two hundred men to follow him speedily to Quebec, but on receiving the news of the nearness of the enemy he at once sent back an order to De Callières, Governor of Montreal, to hurry on to Quebec with all the men he could collect.

With all possible speed he pushed his way to the rescue, eager to reach the rocky fortress before the foe, and on his way he ordered the commanders of the various forts to send on their men after him. To his delight he succeeded in reaching his destination before any of the enemy's vessels could be seen from the citadel. When the anxious watchers in Quebec saw him approaching their hearts beat with renewed hope, and as soon as he reached the shore he was met with a royal welcome; the warm-hearted Frenchmen, forgetting their usual outburst "*Vive le Roi,*" met him with "*Vive le Frontenac,*" and showed their joy by a most boisterous salute. As the grey-haired old warrior toiled up Mountain Street—the steep path leading from the lower town to the upper town—he felt the youthful blood surge through his veins, and as he thought of the threatened attempt to storm Quebec—his Quebec— his eyes flashed and his lips were firmly pressed together with the determination to leave his bones on the rocky heights before he would permit the *Fleur-de-lis* to be lowered before the Union Jack of hated England.

There was no time to be lost. With the greatest alacrity he at once began examining the fortifications. Prevost, although he had heard of the approaching fleet but a short time before, had everything fairly well secured. The city gates had large beams strung across them, and were barricaded with casks of earth; palisades had been erected along the St. Charles; extensive entrenchments had been thrown up, and from every available point the black-lipped cannon loomed over the river. Frontenac was much pleased with the work done, and in two days after his arrival had everything in readiness to meet his foes with a strong resistance.

But what had Phips been doing while Frontenac was thus employed? He had now been in the St. Lawrence for some days, whereas the run from Tadousac to Quebec should have taken but a day or two. With great lack of foresight the fleet had left Boston without anyone on board who knew the Gulf or River St. Lawrence, and so they had literally to feel their way along it with the lead, thus giving the French ample time to strengthen their fortifications and crowd in men from other forts for their protection. Besides this great slowness of movement, from ignorance of the channel, Phips wasted

much time in holding councils of war and in forming and issuing rules for the government of his men. Had he reached Quebec at the right time, he would have had a very easy task to take it, as he had learned from a Frenchman captured on the way. For at the time when he arrived at Tadousac, Quebec was garrisoned with but two hundred men; and, besides being badly fortified, its cannon were nearly all dismounted. His enforced delay, however, gave the French time to work a transformation; and now, when he had anticipated that everything would be easy he had to face an energetic host, a well fortified rock, and, above all, the brave old warrior Frontenac, who put life and energy into every one with whom he came in contact.

Slowly, but surely the fleet advanced; frequently harassed by the skirmishing attacks of the villagers who, at every opportunity, showed their loyalty to France by shouldering their guns and giving the foe a passing shot. Even the priests in some of the villages closed their missals and handled the gun to good effect. Sometimes the ships were compelled to turn out of their course by coming in contact with some unseen shoal or reef. At last they came in sight of Quebec, and vessel after vessel dropped anchor in the basin just below the grand old rock. The sailors and rustic soldiers were filled with misgivings as they gazed at the frowning heights and saw everywhere preparations to resist them. They began to think that perhaps their prisoner had deceived them, and even the sanguine Phips, as he looked up to the *Fleur-de-lis* staunchly waving its white folds over the Château St. Louis on the summit of the cliff, felt his hopes fall many degrees. At any rate he saw that the French did not lower their flag at his approach. However, he had succeeded once before, at Port Royal, by a request to surrender, and so he determined to try to get into the citadel without waste of powder or loss of men. He had the wrong man to deal with. Frontenac had struggled long to keep the French colony together despite the biting colds of the Canadian winter—so hard upon the pleasure-loving French nature—and the constant attacks of brutal savages; and he was not disposed to surrender at the request of Sir William Phips.

MGR. JEAN OCTAVE PLESSIS

FRANÇOIS DE LAVAL DE MONTMORENCY

Shortly after the fleet had anchored, Phips despatched an officer under a flag of truce to Frontenac. As soon as the boat touched shore the officer was blind-folded and led to the chief. The French did all in their power to impress him with their strength, leading him over a very circuitous route, and dragging him over barricade after barricade, much to the delight of the mirth-loving inhabitants, ready to enjoy a good practical joke even at such a time as this. As he passed through the garrison the soldiers made as much noise as possible by clash of weapons and heavy tramp of feet; and by the time he reached the council chamber he was ready to tell his comrades a very different tale from the one they had heard from the prisoner. When he was ushered into the council chamber, men in uniforms glittering with gold and silver lace met his unbandaged gaze, and the haughty expression of their faces made him feel ill at ease.

At last he found strength enough to give Phips' letter to Frontenac, who ordered it to be read aloud in French for the benefit of all. The letter was a brief demand for an unconditional surrender. Silently the assembled French officers listened with an expression of growing rage on their countenances, as they heard themselves reviled and their possessions demanded in the name of King William and Mary. The closing paragraph ran: "Your answer positive in an hour, returned by your own trumpet, with the return of mine, is required upon the peril that will ensue."

The very mention of the names—William and Mary—so hated by Frenchmen of that time, made Frontenac's blood boil, and when the English envoy handed him his watch, stating that as it was then ten o'clock Sir William Phips would expect his reply by eleven, he burst into passionate words of indignation.

"I will not keep you waiting so long. Tell your general that I do not recognize King William; and that the Prince of Orange, who so styles himself, is a usurper who has violated the most sacred laws of blood, in attempting to dethrone his father-in-law. I know no King of England but King James. Your general ought not to be surprised at the hostilities which he says the French have carried on in Massachusetts; for, as the king, my master, has taken the King of England under his protection, and is about to

replace him on his throne by force of arms, he might have expected that His Majesty would order me to make war upon a people who have rebelled against their lawful prince. Even if your general offered me conditions a little more gracious, and if I had a mind to accept them, does he suppose that these brave gentlemen" (his councillors) "would give their consent and advise me to trust a man who broke his agreement with the governor of Port Royal, or a rebel who has failed in his duty to his king, to follow a prince who pretends to be the liberator of England and the defender of the faith, and yet destroys the laws and privileges of the kingdom and overthrows its religion? The divine justice which your general invokes in his letter will not fail to punish such acts severely!"

The envoy stood silent and trembling for a few moments after Frontenac had ceased speaking and them timorously requested the French Governor to write his reply to Phips.

"No!" burst forth the haughty old governor, "I will answer your general only by the mouths of my cannon, that he may learn that a man like me is not to be summoned after this fashion. Let him do his best and I will do mine!"

After these words the envoy was blind-folded and led back to the boat awaiting him. As soon as he reached the admiral's ship he related what had passed between him and Frontenac; and, moreover, filled Phips and his officers with very exaggerated ideas of the strength of the defences, which he knew only from the rough experience he had had in his blind passage through them, and the warlike sounds that had saluted his ears.

Just as the twilight was fading into darkness, joyous shouts blended with the frequent firing of distant but approaching guns, as though of a jubilant people, were carried to the ears of the English. The whole city seemed roused. Men, women, and children could be heard shouting for joy. "What does it mean?" was passed from lip to lip on board the fleet, and many faces blanched as they heard the tumult increase rather than diminish.

Granville, their prisoner, at once guessed at the truth. He knew the upper country had been alarmed and that probably the tumult betokened the arrival of forces from Three Rivers, Montreal and other points along the

St. Lawrence, filling the inhabitants of Quebec with joy and hope. It was even so. De Callières, the Governor of Montreal, had not been idle, but, by forced marches, had brought every available man to Frontenac's assistance.

After another day's delay on the part of Phips, owing to unfavorable weather, the siege of Quebec began in earnest. Major Walley landed with about thirteen hundred men near the mouth of the St. Charles. Frontenac, owing to his increased numbers, felt that he had nothing to fear from the landing of the troops and did not oppose them until they had formed on the muddy banks of the river. But as soon as they attempted to advance French sharpshooters kept up a continuous fire from sheltered positions.

This was unexpected by the English, and threw them into disorder; however, after a short baptism of fire, they showed the stern front that Englishmen have always opposed to danger, and calmly waited their commander's order to charge the enemy out of their position. At last they received the command, and, with the impetuous daring of the Briton, rushed on the enemy's position—visible only by the puffs of smoke rising from behind trees and rocks.

Shot after shot was poured into their ranks as they advanced, but nothing daunted, they continued their charge until the French turned and fled. When they had reached a safe distance they halted, took shelter, and renewed the attack. Walley, seeing it would be useless to charge them again, called back his men and encamped. He had suffered great loss of men, and was moreover disheartened by seeing how useless it was to attempt anything from the landward side.

While Walley was doing his poor best on land, Phips dropped down in front of the citadel and began bombarding it. A steady fire of cannon was kept up from both the fleet and the rock, without doing much harm to either party, until darkness came on, when the firing ceased only to be begun next morning.

On the second day of the fight the boldness of the English gave their foes an opportunity of doing good work. The French gunners were experienced soldiers, who had been through more than one campaign; many indeed having learned their military tactics in old France. Sainte-Hélène, who had

so distinguished himself in the march on Schenectady, took charge of one of the guns that played on the admiral's ship, and made almost every shot tell. All over the fleet torn sails and falling spars told how effective was the answer from the "cannon-mouths" that Frontenac had spoken of. A lucky shot carried away the flag of the admiral's ship much to the delight of the French.

The English guns were not doing anything like the work of their opponents. The soldiers, at any time poor marksmen, were exceptionally so under this heavy fire, and many of their shots fell harmlessly in the water, or, striking the cliff, rolled back in seeming derision. The expedition set off ill-supplied with powder, and now the effect of it was felt. The gunners were given but scanty supplies, and had to use them with the utmost care; so much so that many of the balls did not pierce the houses on which they fell. On the whole the fleet had done but little injury to Quebec.

Poor Walley and his men had all this time been suffering terribly. The cold Canadian October weather had settled down upon them, and after their retreat, they were forced to realize more and more the task they had undertaken. As they lay in camp on the muddy shore they passed a sleepless night owing to the intense cold. In the morning all about them seemed turned to ice, and their wet clothes were in many cases frozen to the ground. Shivering they arose, made another feeble attempt to advance, only to be repulsed. Small-pox broke out among them cutting off many. Never was there a more hopeless spectacle; a large fleet many miles from home, with but little ammunition, facing an insurmountable rock, without any regular plan of attack; a large army gathered on the shore, not knowing what to do next, suffering physically and tormented by the constant fire of sharpshooters.

Phips, though not a man of good judgment was wise enough to see that the expedition was a total failure, and so decided to recall Walley and give up the attack. He disliked this course extremely. He had proved himself a man of remarkable courage, and as he paced the quarter-deck of his vessel amid the steady hail of bullets he was the admiration of all who saw him. But it was useless to waste his men in the struggle; the ammunition was almost gone, and before many days the St. Lawrence would be bridged with

ice. Boats were put ashore and Walley and his men re-embarked in the utmost confusion, leaving behind five pieces of artillery. An attempt was afterwards made to recover the guns, but the French kept up such a heavy fire on the party detailed for this duty that it had to be abandoned.

When the inhabitants of Quebec realized that the enemy had withdrawn, they burst into shouts of exultation. Cheer after cheer ascended from the rocky height, and amid the joyous fire of the guns and the cheers of the people, could be heard the name of their preserver Frontenac. Even those who hated him now joined with the others in doing him honor. They had much, indeed, to thank him for. But for his prompt action in ordering the troops to hasten into the fortress, from the various points along the St. Lawrence, and in permitting no delay in strengthening the fortifications, the English would have found what they expected—an easy prey. The French had another cause for rejoicing. They had begun to fear a protracted siege, and as many frightened refugees had crowded in from the surrounding country, starvation had already begun to stare them in the face.

The English withdrew behind the Island of Orleans to repair their vessels before starting on their homeward voyage. There was great joy in Quebec when it became known that they were on their way to the Atlantic, and yet the joy was not without misgivings. Three vessels from old France were known to be in the St. Lawrence, and as these vessels bore provisions and money that were absolutely necessary to sustain the colony during the winter, there was great fear lest the ships from New England should capture them, but their commanders concealed them in the dark Saguenay and in due time they arrived in safety at Quebec.

The people now gave themselves up to rejoicing. A procession was formed in honor of France, of the king, of the victory, of Frontenac, and of the Saints to whose intercession they ascribed the victory. A stranger not knowing the cause would have found it hard to understand who was being honored where there were so many to honor and so much to be thankful for. At the head of the procession was borne in derision the flag that had been shot from Phips' vessel. This flag was afterwards hung in the cathedral, where it remained until 1759, when it was burned in the conflagration of

that determined siege which placed the Union Jack permanently on the heights of Quebec. This rejoicing was kept up all day long; men, women and children joining in the many processions; and when the last rays of the sun faded behind the hills, a huge bon-fire in honor of their white-haired preserver was lighted on the summit of the rock, its blaze turning the night into day. Frontenac's heart was overflowing with joy. He had suffered much in Canada, but this honor from his children was, he felt, a sufficient reward.

Old France as well as New France rejoiced in Frontenac's victory over the New Englanders, and the King in recognition of Frontenac's good work wrote him a letter with his own hand, and sent him a gift of two thousand crowns.

Frontenac did not rest satisfied with repelling the English. He realized that sooner or later they would return to Canada to wipe out, if possible, the disgrace of this reverse, and, as soon as the danger was removed for the present, he set to work to make the country secure from future invasions. He did extensive work on the fortifications at Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. He recognized that while England remained in possession of the country to the south of Canada, the French colony would have but a very uncertain life. He looked forward to the conquest of the English colonies, and, with this end in view, begged the king to send a squadron to attack New York. New York once conquered, he believed it would be an easy matter to subdue the Puritans of Boston; but the king needed his troops and ships in Europe and could not spare any vessels to attack New York.

The successes of the Iroquois under the administrations of Le Barre and Denonville had made them exceedingly bold, and, despite the reverence and fear they had for Frontenac, they continued to make raids on the French settlers in the out-lying districts and on the Indian allies in the western part of Canada. This warfare irritated Frontenac and on several occasions he took vengeance on the Iroquois captives who fell into his hands. He was not above the barbarity of his age and ordered two of these to be burned at the stake, and handed others over to the Christian Indians to undergo torture. It is hard to judge him for these acts. The brutal murders committed by

the Iroquois on defenseless settlers may have made it necessary. Even in the last century, soldiers of England in India, with the massacre of Cawnpore before them, were not less cruel to the Sepoys than was Frontenac to the Iroquois. He determined, however, to force them into submission, and as a preliminary step sent a force of six hundred and twenty-five men against the Mohawks. It was a successful expedition and many of the enemy were slain or captured. The work of Frontenac soon began to tell; the Western Indians, regained their old confidence in the French, and just at a time when the inhabitants were despairing of ever regaining their trade in beaver-skins with the Indians, a fleet of several hundred canoes laden with furs arrived at Montreal, and even the bitterest enemies of Frontenac realized that he had not only saved the country with the sword, but had re-established the trade which was the life of the colony.

There was for a time comparative peace in the colony, and with it the old quarrels between Frontenac and the Intendant, and Frontenac and the clergy began afresh. Frontenac recognized that the English were the chief factor in keeping the Iroquois inimical to the French. He was in constant dread of Iroquois attack and determined to make one mighty effort to force them into submission, or to destroy them. He begged the home government to send him more troops, but the home government, apparently, could spare but a scanty three hundred. He, however, decided once more to raid the Iroquois country and this time on an extensive scale. As a preliminary step to the expedition he had projected he made up his mind to re-establish Fort Frontenac to serve as a base of attack.

His enemies in New France dreaded the re-establishment of this fort. They believed that Frontenac's desire to have it garrisoned once more was not for the defence of the country, but that it might serve as a great station for the fur trade in which he was interested. The Intendant Champigny led the opposition and carried the quarrel to the home government. A letter was sent from France forbidding the re-establishment of Fort Frontenac, but the wily governor had anticipated the order and before its arrival had sent seven hundred men to garrison the place. The Intendant demanded that they should be withdrawn, but Frontenac, despite the king's order, refused

to comply. He had set his heart upon the Iroquois expedition and he would permit nothing to turn him aside from it. He knew that the king would be angry with him for disobeying the order, but he believed that a great victory over the king's enemies would cause his act to be overlooked, and so collecting twenty-two hundred men he advanced into the Iroquois country. The inhabitants fled before him and when his troops reached Onondaga they found it deserted and burned to the ground. They destroyed the maize crop and the stores of grain as Denonville had done, forced the Oneidas to humbly submit to them, and then returned to Canada. Few of the Indians were put to death by the sword, but their country was laid waste and their crops destroyed, and Frontenac was of the opinion they would be starved into submission. The expedition was not as successful as he had hoped, but he managed to make the king believe that it was a great triumph, and his sovereign not only forgave him, but honored him with the Cross of the Military Order of St. Louis.

Once back in Quebec the old quarrels began again. Frontenac desired to hold the north-western country for the French, and for this end thought that the trading posts should be strongly fortified and well garrisoned, but Champigny and the Jesuits thought otherwise; they believed that all troops and traders should remain in the settled communities, and that the Indians should be forced to bring their furs to Montreal and Quebec. Frontenac was suspected of favoring the out-lying stations for selfish reasons, and the king was induced to order the abandonment of all such positions. But it was recognized in the colony that Frontenac's policy was the true one, and the king's order never took effect.

Trade had increased, prosperity had come to the colony and the Iroquois had become more docile, and Frontenac had now time to turn his attention to the English, but just when affairs were at this stage the treaty of Ryswick was signed, and war between the French and English ceased.

However, it had not altogether ceased in America. New York and New France both claimed the Iroquois as subjects. Frontenac declared that if they did not come to him to conclude peace he would compel them to do so. On learning this the Earl of Bellomont, Governor of New York, wrote to him

SCENE ON THE SAGUENAY

that he had sent arms to the Iroquois, ordering them to defend themselves if attacked by the French, and added that he would send soldiers to their aid if necessary.

Frontenac was now an old man. He had but few weeks to live, but he replied to Bellomont with all his old-time fire and energy. "I am determined," he wrote, "to pursue my course without flinching, and I request you not to thwart me by efforts which will prove useless. All the protection and aid that you have given, and will continue to give, the Iroquois, against the terms of the treaty, will not cause me much alarm, nor make me change my plans, but rather engage me to pursue them still more."

These vigorous words were written in August, 1698. In November Frontenac was seized with a serious illness, and on the 28th of the month, at the age of seventy-eight he passed peacefully away. He was deeply lamented in the colony; all classes alike mourned his death, even his enemies forgot his faults and many of them recognized that the country had sustained an irreparable loss. Among these was his old opponent Champigny, the Intendant, and Champigny's wife. Frontenac seems to have completely forgiven the Intendant, although they had been such bitter enemies. To show that he held no spite he bequeathed to Champigny a valuable crucifix and to Madame de Champigny a reliquary which he esteemed very highly. After his death Champigny wrote to the court in terms of the highest praise of Frontenac's character.

But there were others who hated him even in death, who could only see in him a man possessed of extravagant pretensions, who believed him a political quack and declared that he never acted save in his own interests. They did not understand the dual character of Frontenac. Selfish he was, it is true, but at the same time no man was ever more loyal to his country. He loved Old France and New France, and although he used his high office for the purpose of making money he did it that he might have the power that wealth gives, and that power he had ever hoped to use for the building up of the great empire he conceived when he first looked upon the rocky fortress of Quebec.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

Wolfe's Birthplace—A Soldier from his Cradle—Joins the 12th Regiment of Foot—Wolfe's General Appearance—His Military Life in Flanders—Operating Against Prince Charles Edward in Scotland—At Culloden Moor—In Love with Miss Lawson—His Efforts to Cultivate His Mind—Attracted Towards America—Distinguishes Himself at the Siege of Rochefort—Joins Expedition Against Louisburg—A Poor Sailor—The Strength of the "Dunkirk of America"—Wolfe Leads the Landing Party at Louisburg—Siege of the Strong Fortress—Its Surrender—Wolfe Anxious to Attack Quebec at once—Sails for England—Fighting Disease—Appointed to Lead the Expedition Against Quebec—Sails for America—The Death-Struggle between the French and English in America About to Begin—Montcalm a Worthy Opponent of Wolfe—The English Fleet Reaches Quebec—Attempts to Destroy It with Fire-Ships—Wolfe's Efforts to Capture Quebec Unsuccessful—The French Confident of Holding Out Till Winter—Wolfe Prostrated by Disease—Determined to Gain the Plains above the City—Wolfe's Heart Presages Death—Scales the Cliff—Battle of the Plains of Abraham—The Death of Wolfe—The Death of Moncalm—The British Troops March Into Quebec—Amid Her Rejoicing England Mourns for Wolfe—Conquest of Canada Makes Revolutionary War Possible—Wolfe's Body Taken to England.

IN the little out of the way village of Westerham in Kent, on January 2, 1727, a man child was born, who was to become known to the world as the man who finally crushed French power on the North American Continent. No doubt the time was ripe for the conquest of the French by the English in America, but the energy, the skill, and bravery of Wolfe hastened the conquest.

James Wolfe was of a military family and early turned his thoughts towards military affairs; in fact, it might almost be said that he was a soldier from his cradle. In 1740, when he was but thirteen years old, he expressed a strong desire to accompany his father, who was Adjutant-General to the expedition against Cartagena. His mother was greatly opposed to having her delicate young son go on such a perilous expedition, but he seemed to have persuaded his father into granting his request. Fortunately, no doubt, sickness prevented him at the last moment from realizing his hope.

Doubtless had he gone, he would in all probability have perished in that ill-fated expedition.

During the Christmas season of 1741, while visiting at Squerryes, he received a commission appointing him to his father's regiment of marines. On the spot in the garden where this precious document was handed to him a column surmounted by an urn has been erected to his heroic memory. In April, 1742, he was exchanged to the Twelfth Regiment of Foot,—a lucky change, as Wolfe was about the poorest sailor imaginable and suffered from sea-sickness the moment a boat he was in began to rock.

Although Wolfe was such an ardent soldier he had very little of the military man in his appearance. He was tall and lanky, sickly in appearance, with a colorless face and decidedly red hair; his forehead and chin receded unpleasantly, and his nose was slightly turned up, but his splendid eyes and firm mouth redeemed his features and showed on a second glance that he was a man possessed of a strong will and keen intelligence.

He began his active military life in Flanders in the year 1742. Here he found soldiering anything but pleasant and the only active engagements he experienced were those between the soldiers and the burghers of Ghent. But the army of Austria and England was to see fighting of a different kind. Wolfe was about to learn what soldiering, in the true sense of the word, meant. From Ghent his regiment marched to the Rhine, over difficult roads and with but a scanty supply of food. Wolfe was at this time but sixteen years old, and yet seems to have impressed himself so much upon the authorities that he was appointed acting-adjutant to his regiment. He was present at the celebrated battle of Dettingen and played in it a gallant part. His younger brother, "Ned," was in the same fight and Wolfe's only alarm seems to have been for his brother's welfare. He wrote an account of this battle and showed himself, even at that early age, an excellent military critic with a keen eye for the complicated movements of a great battle. In this fight he had several narrow escapes. On one occasion his horse was shot under him, and he was thrown heavily, but he came out of the battle with only a few bruises. The good work he did at Dettingen was recognized, and he was promoted to a lieutenancy and commissioned as adjutant.

After the battle of Dettingen the Twelfth Regiment for a time saw no more active fighting but lay idle in the low countries. However, Wolfe seems to have been doing good work, and in 1744, got his captaincy and was transferred to the Fourth Regiment of Foot. By this change he missed being present at the battle of Fontenoy where his old regiment lost three hundred and eighteen officers and men.

His next field of active operation was in the north of England and in Scotland where his regiment was sent as one of the army opposing Prince Charles Edward. He was present as brigade-major at the battle of Falkirk, and in this fight learned to appreciate the prowess of the Highland soldiers. So critical was the situation in the north that the Duke of Cumberland, probably the best soldier of his time, was sent to take charge of the forces operating in Scotland. At Culloden Moor Wolfe was in the thick of the fight; his regiment, Barrels—as the Fourth Regiment of Foot was called—suffering very heavily, more so than any other regiment engaged. It is said that on this field Wolfe was ordered by the Duke of Cumberland to shoot a wounded Highlander who had looked insolently at his highness,—but Wolfe replied with the words: "My commission is at Your Highness' disposal, but I never can consent to become an executioner." If this story is true the Duke of Cumberland thought none the less of young Wolfe for his independence and continued to the end to be his firm supporter.

For a time Wolfe remained in the Highlands helping to so subdue the rebel Highlanders that there would never again be any danger of a rising against the government in Scotland.

His regiment was next moved to Flanders where he fought against Saxe. In November, 1747, he was back in England enjoying a much needed rest. It was during this time that he fell in love with the daughter of Sir Wilfrid Lawson; however, he was not to have much time for love-making. His work was still appreciated by the government and he was appointed major of the 20th Regiment and accompanied the regiment to Scotland. As the colonel of his regiment was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia about this time, Wolfe had full command aud proved himself a most efficient commanding officer. He was

stationed at Sterling for a time and spent here and likewise at other places in Scotland what was probably the most dreary season of his life. He was much in love and separated from the fair one; he was yearning for active service, and the sickness which was to cost him so much suffering before Quebec was rapidly undermining his constitution. But his mental and physical depression seemed only to make him more energetic, and when his regiment was moved to Glasgow, he bought books and engaged tutors and industriously employed his spare moments at the study of Latin and mathematics. He was commissioned a lieutenant-colonel in 1750, having risen by ability in an age when positions in the army were usually given to court favorites. He remained for several years in Scotland, and dreary years they were. His enthusiastic military nature was all the while hungry for battles and "the path of glory."

The critical situation in America between the French and English colonists made him turn his thoughts to that great new land, and he hoped for active service there. He was, indeed, to have accompanied Braddock on that general's staff, but for some reason the appointment was changed. He was greatly shocked when he heard of Braddock's reverse in the wilderness; and when he learned the details exclaimed in anger, "that the cowardice of the men exceeded the ignorance of the general." This has long been the general opinion with regard to Braddock's expedition, but a full knowledge of that reverse proves it no worse than many that the British army has suffered in the late Boer war, and indeed it was no worse than the attack made by Wolfe against the French intrenchments on the Beauport shore during the early stages of the great siege of Quebec.

Wolfe's next chance to distinguish himself was in the expedition sent out for the destruction of Rochefort. He sailed from England on the "Ramillies" and when the fleet reached its destination he was one of the first to propose a plan of attack. He made a careful reconnaissance and felt confident that his plan would succeed, but those in command of the expedition had not the energy to carry it out. The expedition proved a hopeless failure and returned to England without accomplishing anything. Wolfe remarked bitterly with regard to it that "we lost the lucky moment in war and were not able to

recover it." These words are significant and are like Nelson's "lucky five minutes between victory and defeat." It was being able to seize the moment that won Louisburg for the English, that landed the English troops on the Plains of Abraham, and that defeated Montcalm's army before the walls of Quebec. One man alone seems to have gained lustre by the Rochefort expedition. Shortly after its ignominious return Wolfe received a colonel's commission and won admiring words from the great Pitt.

On January 6, 1758, Wolfe was called to London, and was here offered a brigadiership in the army which was to be sent to America to recapture Cape Breton from the French. The young officer was Pitt's choice, and he received the appointment over the heads of many older and more experienced soldiers. After all the failure of the Rochefort expedition was to be a blessing, but for it Wolfe might never have been sent to America, and the history of Louisburg and Quebec might have been altogether different.

The army now being sent to America had for its ultimate object the driving of the French from the North American continent. For this purpose two important strongholds, the strongest in the world with the exception of Gibraltar, Louisburg and Quebec, would have to be captured. Quebec was, of course, the great centre of civil and military life in North America, but Louisburg would first have to be dealt with. That strong position once captured the entire strength of the British army could be concentrated against the historic rock guarding the St. Lawrence.

For this expedition Admiral Boscawen was placed in command of the fleet and General Amherst in command of the army. There were to be three brigadiers on this expedition; Lawrence and Whitmore were already in America, and Wolfe was to make the third, and although experienced only in European warfare was to prove the hero of this expedition.

The Louisburg force embarked at Portsmouth in February. It consisted of about eleven thousand men. Wolfe was senior officer of the fleet, but during the stormy passage of nearly three months, his work must largely have been done by subordinates, as he suffered almost continuously from sea-sickness. All things, however, have an end, and on May 10, Wolfe with forty sail entered Halifax harbor. The Commander-in-Chief of the expedition had not

yet arrived at this place, and the troops waited here for nearly three weeks, but at length, on the 28th of the month, the force set sail for Louisburg, the Dunkirk of America. Once more the fleet was to experience storms, and it was not until June 2, that the British vessels arrived off the strong fortress.

It seemed an impregnable position. Since it had been foolishly handed over to the French against the wishes of the American colonists, over £1,000,000 had been expended on the fortress. The walls surrounding it were over one and a half miles in circumference. It was garrisoned by three thousand regulars, and this force was augmented by Indians and militia. Besides this there were in the harbor seven line-of-battle ships and five frigates, and these added three thousand sturdy sailors to the fortified population of the place. On the walls were some two hundred and fifty cannon and mortars, and it was said that there were abundant provisions in Louisburg to withstand a year's siege.

A storm was raging when the English arrived off the place, and, as there was but little abatement for five days, no landing could be attempted. It seemed to the British sailors and soldiers that nature was fighting for the French, but, on the morning of the 8th, the sea was calmer, and, although the waves were still foaming on the rock-bound coast, it was decided to attempt a landing. Wolfe was selected to lead the attack and the main body of troops under him were destined for Freshwater cove four miles west of the town. At dawn, while the guns of the fleet thundered against the French position, Wolfe with his flotilla of boats bearing twelve companies of Grenadiers, a picked corps of Light Infantry, a company of New England Rangers and a regiment of Fraser's Highlanders swept shoreward. They were met by a deadly fire, but the spirit of their commander had taken possession of the men, and nothing could check them. Soldiers were shot down under a hail of bullets, boats were overturned and a number of brave fellows were drowned; but the landing party pressed on and were soon formed up in a sheltered position on the beach. Wolfe was one of the first to reach the land.

As soon as the men were formed up and had recovered their breath after the arduous work of reaching the shore, they fixed bayonets and charged on

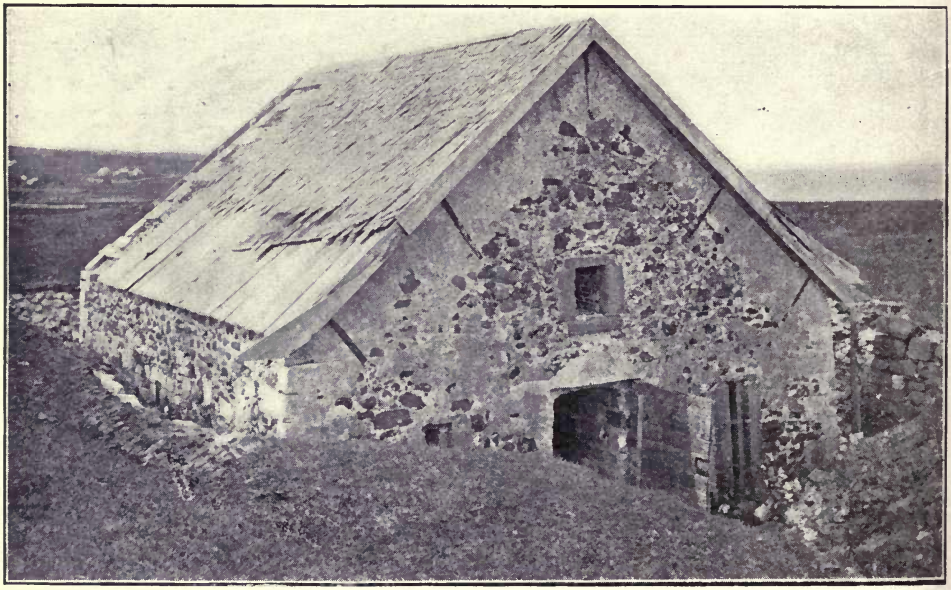
the enemy's position. The French, seeing themselves likely to be cut off from the rear, retreated in haste to the walls of Louisburg, suffering considerable loss. This attack on the lines of defence on the west, left the other end of the beach clear for the landing of Amherst's men. The whole command now advanced and all the French troops who had been disputing the ground fled in haste to the protection of Louisburg.

For several days the army was kept busy moving the camp stores and getting ashore. The French had a formidable battery on Goat Island, which divided the entrance of the harbor. Amherst saw the necessity of silencing this battery as quickly as possible, and dispatched Wolfe with twelve hundred men to construct a battery immediately opposite. The work was done without opposition and Wolfe then erected a second battery on Light-House point. The enemy's ships in the harbor, and the batteries kept up a steady fire on this latter position but did comparatively little harm. Meanwhile the British guns had been doing most effective work, and by the 26th of the month Goat Island battery was silenced. The French Admiral, in order to make the harbor more secure, on a dark night sank half of his ships in the narrow strait leading into it.

This preliminary work against the out-lying positions being practically completed, the attention of the British was now turned against the strong fortifications of Louisburg itself. The trenches were pushed forward until they came within reach of the cannon flanking the western walls. The work was progressing slowly but surely and Wolfe's young and impetuous nature desired to have it hastened to a conclusion. He believed that Louisburg might be captured in time for the fleet to move against Quebec before autumn, but Amherst thought otherwise and continued his work in a soldierly and methodical manner knowing that Louisburg would fall without serious loss to his forces.

The fighting went on; the cannonading from the British batteries causing much destruction of property and life within Louisburg while the British in their splendidly constructed trenches suffered but little. The troops during July saw much fighting. The French on numerous occasions made *sorties* from their strongholds but were ever repulsed with loss and the British

OLD CASEMATE AT LOUISBURG



OLD FRENCH MAGAZINE AT ANNAPOLIS

TWO HISTORIC RELICS OF EARLY FRENCH SETTLEMENT

batteries moved forward. On the 27th of the month the British forces succeeded in burning to the water's edge three of the big French ships in the harbor and the following day a portion of the town was in flames and much of the shipping was burned. Two ships remained intact and these a force of blue jackets seized, and though one grounded the other was successfully towed under the British batteries. It now seemed that Louisburg was not as well stocked with provisions and ammunition as was at first supposed. The inhabitants were facing starvation and the ammunition was running short. On the 24th of the month only four French guns were feebly replying to the thunderous roar of Wolfe's batteries. On this same day these guns were silenced and the engineers reported that the breaches in the walls were sufficiently large for venturing on an assault, but before it could take place the citizens who saw the uselessness of continuing the struggle forced the governor of the place, Drucour, to surrender unconditionally. On the 27th, the English army marched in triumph into the place that the French in America and in Europe had thought impregnable.

Wolfe was anxious to proceed against Quebec at once, and earnestly besought Amherst to do so; but winter was coming on apace, and the sailors dreaded the difficult navigation of the St. Lawrence, and so the taking of Quebec was postponed. If the army was not to proceed at once against the capital of Canada, Wolfe, who was suffering greatly from ill-health, was anxious to return to England; but instead of realising his wish, he, with Sir Charles Hardy and seven ships, was sent to the lower St. Lawrence for the purpose of laying waste the country. He detested the work, and called it "a sorry but a necessary business."

In October Wolfe sailed from Louisburg for England, and after a speedy voyage landed at Portsmouth on November 1. He was recognized as "the hero of Louisburg" and as a reward for his splendid services was appointed to a colonelcy of the 67th Regiment, and joined his new command at Salisbury.

Wolfe was now suffering greatly, as his disease had laid firm hold upon him, and he must have realized that he had not long to live; but he wished to die in harness, and was looking forward to further service. Pitt recognized

that he was his ablest general, and when the government determined to send an expedition against Quebec in the following spring, he appointed Wolfe Commander-in-Chief.

It will be remembered that Wolfe had fallen in love with a Miss Lawson; but his suit had been rejected and for some years he avoided the society of women and was sunk in the deepest melancholy on this account; but during the winter before setting out on the Quebec expedition he became attached to a Miss Lowther, and, although it has been said there was not much love in the case, an engagement took place.

To brace him for his great expedition he took a course of the waters at Bath, but returned to London with unimproved health. A strange general this! But the physical frame mattered little; there was more will in that disease-racked body than in the robust frames of all the other British generals put together. It was this will that won Canada for England.

Despite his ill-health he organized the expedition with the greatest care, seeing to every detail himself. Before he assumed command he stipulated that he should choose his own staff, and Pitt, who recognized the strength of his young general, granted his request. Considerable indignation was expressed in some quarters that Wolfe should have been raised over the heads of so many older and more experienced officers, and to meet the prejudices of the army, he was to continue to hold the rank of colonel; the rank of major-general being conferred upon him temporarily, to be held only in America. Monckton, Murray and Townshend took service under him as brigadiers with brevet rank.

The character of Wolfe is well shown by his selection of officers. On several occasions he was opposed by the War Office in his selections, and, in the case of Guy Carleton, whom he wished for quartermaster-general, the king himself refused to sanction the appointment, but Wolfe would brook no opposition, not even the king's, and in the end he prevailed. It might be that the expedition would prove a failure, but if it did he was prepared to bear the entire blame. That the king was capable of appreciating Pitt's general is shown by a remark that he made at the time. So great a military

enthusiast was Wolfe that some believed his mind unhinged. Newcastle is said to have told the king that he was mad.

"Mad is he!" replied the king, "then all I can say is I hope he'll bite some of my generals."

On February 17, Admiral Saunders, who was in command of Wolfe's fleet, sailed from Spithead with some of the troops. Wolfe himself was on board the "Neptune," ninety guns. As usual he suffered intensely from sea-sickness on the voyage to Halifax. It was a slow passage owing to the storms and heavy winds, and it was not until May that the coast of Nova Scotia was sighted. Louisburg harbor was still frozen, and it was necessary for the fleet to go to Halifax where ships and troops were gathering. It was the beginning of June before the final arrangements were completed and then Admiral Saunders and Wolfe sailed from Louisburg to attack the fortress which nature had made the strongest on the North American continent.

Before the end of June the French in Quebec knew that they would soon be in the midst of the severest struggle that ever took place in Canada, but they had every confidence in their military leader. Montcalm's successes had given them faith in his genius. On the other hand the English troops felt equally confident in the ability of Wolfe to take Quebec. The work he had done before Louisburg in the previous year convinced them that no obstacle was so great as to be able to resist his indomitable will.

France at this time did not possess a cooler head and a braver heart than Montcalm's. England, likewise, had not a truer soldier than young Wolfe. The encounter was indeed to be a meeting of heroes, and a long and severe struggle was expected. The English were hopeful, but the French laughed at the idea of their being able to capture the rugged rock from which their soldiers had so easily repulsed Phips' attack fifty years before.

In the spring of 1759, the news reached Quebec that a British fleet was *en route* for the St. Lawrence. At first the inhabitants were terror-stricken, as Quebec was in no condition to stand a long siege, but their fears were dispersed by the arrival of eighteen sail with supplies from France. British cruisers were on the watch for this fleet, but they had successfully passed them unseen.

Montcalm was at this time at Montreal, but hastened to Quebec with the utmost speed in order to prepare it for a successful resistance. All the available troops were hurried into the city, and the excited inhabitants anxiously kept watch for the expected warships. The fleet, however, suffered long delays and did not appear for some weeks, and thus gave the French time to make ample preparations to receive them. Montcalm and Vaudreuil resolved to concentrate their entire force on the river front between the St. Charles and the Montmorency Rivers, a distance of eight miles, and one continuous line of redoubts, batteries, and entrenchments was constructed. Two hulks were mounted with cannon and placed at the mouth of the St. Charles; and a boom of logs was thrown across it to keep the English fleet from passing up. Every available entrance to the city was closed and barricaded save one which was left open to admit the troops from the river front. A hundred and six cannon frowned from the heights, and a considerable floating battery with guns, fire-ships and fire-rafts protected the front of the city. The entire number of men under arms in and about Quebec was over sixteen thousand. After everything was ready the French patiently awaited the foe, but no foe appeared. At last the suspense was broken by the news that the fleet was at Ile aux Coudres. Three midshipmen belonging to it were captured and brought to Quebec, greatly alarming the French by their tales of the tremendous size and strength of the approaching squadron.

On June 21, a portion of Wolfe's fleet arrived in the north channel of Orleans Island, and very soon all the vessels passed the difficult navigation of the St. Lawrence and anchored south of the island. Some of the leading vessels had hoisted the French flag which attracted several of the inhabitants to come on board. In this way they were able to secure the services of men who were fairly familiar with the river, but in a number of cases the ships had to grope their way up the difficult channel, and that they passed it without the loss of a single ship was a source of considerable surprise to the French authorities. That same night a small party landed and had a brush with the inhabitants, who, when beaten crossed over to the north shore. The next day was a busy one for the British soldiers; boats loaded

with troops plied busily between the ships and the island until the entire army was landed and drawn up on the beach. Wolfe was anxious to begin action at once, and, without delay, began to look about him for a point of vantage from which he might attack the city. He was appalled at the strength and vastness of the preparations made to resist his army. He had little more than half the number of the French troops, who were behind strong protection, but his men were nearly all tried soldiers; and, though the difficulties were great, he felt that with such an army he would not know failure.

On the day when the British troops were landed on the Island of Orleans a furious gale arose and lasted for some hours. The French, as usual in such cases, believed that Providence was interposing on their behalf and hoped that the storm would destroy the entire fleet. But it was only a summer gale, and subsided as quickly as it had arisen. While it lasted it drove the ships hither and thither, and in spite of the utmost vigilance some were driven ashore and others collided, causing no small damage. When the storm went down, the French determined to try the effect of fire-ships on the invaders. These ships were the largest of the merchant vessels that had brought out their supplies and had been equipped for their work of destruction at an enormous cost, when the means at the disposal of Quebec is considered. To make their deadly work almost certain, they had been filled with pitch, tar and other inflammable material, besides having on board firearms and cannon crammed to the muzzle, together with ever conceivable explosive.

Vaudreuil appointed Deluche, a distinguished naval officer, to the hazardous task of guiding the fire-ships to the fleet of the foe, and setting fire to them at the appropriate moment. Fortunately for the English, Deluche's courage failed him, and he ignited the vessels much too soon. The night was pitch dark, but the sudden blaze in an instant dispersed the darkness. The British, fearing an attempt on their encampment, drew up their forces in readiness to resist, and watched the approaching fire-ships. One after another leaped into flames, and soon the whole river, from the Montmorency to the city was as light as day. The flames were not long in reaching the explosives and the air was filled with the crash of loud reports and the whizzing of balls

and bullets. However, Deluche had been so hasty in his work that no harm was done to the British vessels. Some of the fire-ships ran ashore before reaching the fleet, and others were towed out of harm's way by the energetic British seamen who rowed out and grappled them. Some of the seamen were experienced in this kind of work and took it as a joke, shouting to each other as they approached the spluttering *infernos:* "Damme Jack, didst ever have Hell in tow before?" One of the vessels blazed so rapidly that its captain and a number of the crew were burned before they could escape in their boats.

Vaudreuil had expected much from this enterprise, and hopefully climbed into the church steeple at Beauport about three miles from Quebec, to see the British fleet annihilated. When he saw how useless the whole undertaking had been, his discouragement was extreme.

Wolfe determined to begin more active hostilities at once. He carefully considered every available point of attack, and concluded that his best move would be to take up a position on Point Lévis, directly opposite Quebec. He despatched General Monckton thither with his brigade on June 29, and on the following day went over himself and selected the most commanding point from which his cannon might play upon the city. As soon as his intention was discovered the guns of Quebec poured out a leaden storm upon his workmen. Many were killed, but the work of entrenchment was vigorously continued and in a short time his troops had secured a strong and comparatively safe position. Contrary to Montcalm's judgment an attempt was made to drive them from their entrenchments, but the work was entrusted to irregulars who advanced with so little judgment that one division of the attacking party fired into another and in the end retreated to their boats with the loss of seventy killed and wounded. When all was ready the besiegers turned their guns upon the city; many of the inhabitants fled to the country in terror. In all directions bursting shells set fire to the houses, and among other buildings the revered cathedral was given to the flames. This fire, however, although doing a great deal of damage to the houses of the city, was of very little practical value to the British. It brought them no nearer to the capture of Quebec, excepting that it perhaps discouraged the Canadians,

and made them feel that in Wolfe there was, at least, a more formidable foe than Phips before their walls.

Wolfe became impatient at seeing nothing accomplished but a useless destruction of property. He determined to make an effort to attack the main body along the St. Lawrence. It was impossible to charge them successfully from the river, and so he took up his position to the left of their forces on the banks of the brown and rapid Montmorency. He hoped by this move to press back the left of the army, or if not by ascending the Montmorency to find a ford by which his army might cross and get to the rear of the enemy. As soon as he felt himself strongly posted, he began to harass the foe, who vigorously returned his fire and many lives were lost on both sides. His battery at Lévis still kept up its disastrous cannonade on Quebec. The Lower Town was almost totally destroyed and but few of its inhabitants were courageous enough to remain in the shelter of their houses. The effect of this determined siege was already beginning to tell. Many of the Canadians deserted to the British ranks, reporting that only dread of their officers kept their countrymen from coming over in a body to the British lines.

Near the end of July the British ship "Sutherland" and several smaller vessels, succeeded in passing the fortress of Quebec and taking up their station above the city where they captured a number of French vessels. This was unfortunate for the French, for they had now not only to defend Quebec and the St. Lawrence, but also to use a large part of their troops to defend the country above the city. The British followed up this success by dragging boats across Point Lévis, and, launching them at a point out of range of the enemy's guns, filled them with men to join troops who were already up the river. These at once began operations so that the French were now attacked from three points—Montmorency, Lévis, and the rocky plateau above Quebec. Montcalm, though vigilant, smiled at the efforts of the British. He was convinced that "Monsieur Wolfe could never capture Quebec." He knew his own strength and thought that all would be well if he could keep his men from becoming discouraged. However, he wisely determined to remain on the defensive. Vaudreuil was much more despondent and observed with great alarm the successes of the enemy's fleet. His fire-ships had been a

failure, but he determined to make one more mighty effort to destroy their vessels. He had some seventy rafts, boats and schooners joined together and loaded, like the fire-ships, with guns of all sorts, crammed to the muzzle with grenades, bombs and other explosive weapons. This "gigantic infernal machine" was carefully directed and appeared destined to destroy at least a portion of the fleet. But British courage was too much for French ingenuity and the hardy sailors gallantly manned their boats, and grappling the blazing raft, towed it ashore, with bursting cannon and showers of bullets falling about them. Shout upon shout went up from their lusty throats, as one piece of the raft after another struck ground and blazed itself out. The French turned away in disgust. It was no use to try to intimidate such men. The only thing they could do was to keep them outside of the city, and this, at least, seemed easy enough.

Summer was rapidly drawing to a close, and Wolfe, seeing that if something were not soon done the year's work would be lost, decided to make a strong attack on Montcalm's river force. He directed a division of his army against the enemy's entrenchments, and on the last day of July a fierce battle was fought. The battery at Lévis poured its leaden hail into the city, the ships along the shore cast shot and shell into the French camp. While the cannon on the left of the Montmorency drowned the roar of the Falls with their thunder. The French were not idle, their guns replied with equal strength. An attempt was made to land in front and charge the foe but it was quickly repulsed. On this occasion a thousand grenadiers and loyal Americans, veterans of Louisburg, seemed to have lost their heads and without commands from their officers charged wildly at an impossible position which was strongly guarded by three thousand picked riflemen. They lost heavily and but for an opportune thunder-storm very few of them would have escaped. As it was, this mad attack up the slippery hillside caused the loss of four hundred and forty-three men, among whom were thirty-three officers. Wolfe saw how impracticable it was to attack from the Beauport side, and, withdrawing his troops, thought out another plan. The French were delighted with the punishment they had given the foe, and Vaudreuil exultingly wrote to a friend, "Monsieur Wolfe, I can assure you, will make no

ADMIRAL SAUNDERS

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN

progress." He reckoned without his host, Wolfe did not know what failure meant.

The British general, from the commencement of the siege, had longed to meet the French in open field; but this repulse made the chance of a general engagement seem more remote than ever. Montcalm knew that his raw militia were much more serviceable behind entrenchments than they could be in a fair hand-to-hand engagement, and so would run no risks. Wolfe, on his first arrival in the country, had anxiously looked to the heights above Quebec, and now he once more turned his eyes to the broad plains above the city. His first task was to look for a practicable ascent.

In the meantime he gave orders to have the country round about laid waste, and his men did their work only too well. Many villages and farm-houses were laid in ruins, and not a few of their resisting inhabitants put to the sword. The British soldiers had caught so much of the revengeful spirit of their foes, that in many cases they scalped their fallen enemies. No strong resistance was made to these depredations, the French feeling that every man was needed to protect the city itself. Wolfe began to despair. He even thought of giving up the siege for that year, and going into winter quarters at Isle aux Coudres, intercepting as far as possible the supplies of the French, and forcing them to surrender in the following spring. But, before doing this, he determined to make at least another attempt to capture the city and with it Montcalm's army.

As rapidly as he could he brought a number of his ships past the guns of Quebec. No delay was permitted. Attack after attack was made on the heights, and so effective were some of them that De Bougainville was sent with about two thousand soldiers to keep the British troops from making a successful landing. One attack was so vigorous that Montcalm felt it necessary to take command in person, but the wary British had retreated before he could reach the scene of action. All was not running smoothly with Wolfe's men, however. Disease broke out in their camps, and many of the best soldies were unfit for service. But the French suffered far more in every way. Disease was rife, food was scarce, and supplies were now almost

entirely cut off from the upper country. Their city was in ruins, and even should the English fail to capture it that year, a fearful winter stared them in the face.

On August 20 great sorrow spread through the British army. Wolfe, who had exhausted himself by ceaseless toil and thought, and who through the long siege weeks was to be seen everywhere strengthening the weak and encouraging the strong by his hopeful spirit, was seized with an illness so severe that he was confined to his bed, and lay restlessly tossing with fever in a farmhouse at Montmorency. About the end of the month, however, to the great joy of his men he recovered, so far, at least, as to be able to devise another plan of attack. He proposed three plans to his brigadiers, Monckton, Townshend and Murray. One of these was to cross the Montmorency about eight miles from the St. Lawrence, and, with a large force, to march rapidly through the forest and fall on the rear of the French, while a contingent stormed them from the river. The second was to ford the Montmorency at its mouth, and to march along the shore until a point could be found where a British army could charge the French out of their entrenchments. The third was to make a concentrated attack from the front.

But the brigadiers wisely advised him to abandon all three; and, after long consultation, suggested that the next attempt should be to scale the heights above Quebec. Wolfe had from the first looked to this quarter for victory, and gladly acted on their suggestion.

On the last day of August, the General was able to leave the house for the first time since his illness, and his presence greatly raised the spirits of the army. He had not much hope of success, but he was determined that they should not have it to say in England that he had not done his best. His first task was to concentrate his forces along the upper bank of the river. He sent up to join Admiral Holmes all the ships he could spare from his fleet below Quebec. Seeing that his men at Montmorency were of no practical use, he at once decided on evacuating his position there. Montcalm, observing the move, sent a force to harass the retreating British troops. Monckton, who had been viewing the operations from Point Lévis,

despatched a considerable force to attack Montcalm in front, compelling him to recall his men; and the English were thus enabled to retire without loss. The French scarcely knew what to make of the move, and began to hope that their foes were about to raise the siege and depart. Their hopes were greatly strengthened by seeing the troops hurried on board the fleet above Quebec. They did not, however, relax their vigilant watch by night and day.

This work had been too much for the heroic Wolfe, and on September 4 he was again prostrated with illness and suffered intensely. This unfortunate event affected every man in the army. Wolfe, however, had a will capable of crushing down pain, and overcoming bodily weakness; and on the following day was once more among his men, haggard and worn, but as energetic as ever. Every cove, bay and rock was eagerly scanned with the telescope, and he at length fixed upon a place where he thought it possible that his army might scramble up. It was evidently a weak spot in the cliff, for the white tent of the guard could be seen gleaming there in the September sunshine. This was the *Anse du Foulon*, perhaps the weakest point anywhere about Quebec. Even here it was by no means an easy task to scale the cliff; and, as Montcalm had told Vaudreuil, a hundred vigilant men could have kept a whole army at bay. They expected that Wolfe would not leave the St. Lawrence without trying this point. A strong guard was therefore posted for its protection, under command of Captain de Vergor of the colony troops. This individual had on a former occasion ingloriously surrendered Fort Beau Séjour in Acadia to the English. Besides the guard, the battalion of Guienne was within hailing distance, and the batteries on the headland of Samos, and on the heights of Sillery, were in a position to play upon any approaching boats.

De Bougainville was stationed at Cap Rouge, nine miles above Quebec, with a force of about three thousand men, and it was decided to begin final operations by attacking and harassing his position.

On September 7 Admiral Holmes sailed up to Cap Rouge, and began firing on Bougainville's force; at the same time sending off troops to feign a

landing. This was but a *ruse* of Wolfe's to keep the enemy from suspecting his intention of attempting to scale the cliff at the *Anse du Foulon.* Holmes kept up his attack for several days, allowing his fleet to drift up and down with the tide. De Bougainville was constantly on the watch, and wore out his troops by marching them up and down the shore to prevent the British from landing. While these operations were under way a storm arose and seriously interfered with the designs of the besiegers. The troops in the boats were so drenched with rain that they were compelled to land on the south shore, to dry their clothes and rest.

This unsatisfactory mode of fighting was soon to end. On the twelfth of the month, Wolfe issued his last general orders. He felt that at length the time had come to strike, and the sooner a battle was fought the better. Deserters from the French army brought him most encouraging tidings. The food in the city was almost exhausted, and there was but little chance, at present, of the besieged obtaining more. The French generals, too, were greatly disheartened by the necessity of dividing their forces to protect, not only the city, but the shores above and below. Wolfe was confident of success, and his hopeful spirit inspired both officers and men. They were ready to follow him anywhere, and knew that if they could but once meet the enemy in battle the siege would be as good as finished. He had but 8,400 men that he could land, and the enemy even in their reduced condition, numbered double as many.

The first task was to choose an advance party to undertake the hazardous feat of scaling the cliff and surprising the guard so as to clear the way for the troops. Among such men as he had under him it was not difficult to find twenty-four volunteers ready to face even death; and Wolfe had soon mustered a party of men as brave as ever led a forlorn hope. Seventeen hundred men were to go ashore with the scaling party, to be ready to follow them to the heights in case of success. De Bougainville anxiously watched the fleet as the numerous boats left it laden with men. He thought he was to be attacked and remained on the defensive. As the tide was flowing in just then, Wolfe allowed the boats to float up stream, completely deceiving

him, as he supposed an attack was to be made upon his position like those from which he had already suffered, but on a more extensive scale.

On the same day French deserters brought in the welcome news that during the night supplies were to pass down to Montcalm's camp under cover of darkness. Wolfe at once thought that his boats might seize the opportunity of going down in advance of them, deceive the sentinels along the river, and gain the *Anse du Foulon* without opposition. He had some fear that Montcalm might suspect his intentions, and that the French might be in force on the Plains of Abraham to oppose his landing. To avoid this Admiral Saunders, who was in command of the fleet in the basin of Quebec was to storm Montcalm's position while Wolfe, in person, made the attack above the city. At nightfall, Saunders began a fierce fire on the entrenchments and sent off boats loaded with men to pretend a landing. Montcalm was completely deceived, and as the battle grew hot and vigorous, he called his troops together to resist what he supposed to be a concentrated attack.

While Saunders was doing such effective work on Montcalm's entrenchments, Wolfe was patiently awaiting the ebb of the tide which was to aid his men. At two o'clock in the morning everything was in readiness. A signal lantern gleamed from the mainmast of the "Sutherland." It was the signal to begin operations and the boats at once began to float toward their destination, favored by a light wind. Wolfe was in one of the foremost boats, and while he was being rowed ashore recited Gray's celebrated poem, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard"—saying, as he finished, "Gentlemen, I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec." The recitation of such a poem at such a time, shows clearly that Wolfe's heart was presaging death. It may be he wished it, he knew he had not long to live and it would be glorious to die in harness on the great battle-field of the morrow. This was not the only evidence that he anticipated death; to several of his more intimate friends he had said that he did not expect to survive the battle; and to his old school fellow, "Jackie" Jervis, afterwards the distinguished admiral Lord Vincent, who was then in command of a sloop before Quebec, he said that he did not expect to survive the battle, and he took from his neck a miniature of Miss Lowther, his fiancée, and asked Jervis to deliver the

portrait to Miss Lowther if he should fall in the fight. After the battle, too, the following verses from Pope's "Iliad" were found in his pocket:

> "But since, alas! ignoble age must come,
> Disease, and death's inexorable doom,
> That Life which other's pay, let us bestow,
> And give to fame what we to nature owe.
> Brave let us fall, or honoured if we live,
> Or let us glory gain or glory give.
> Such, men shall own, deserve a sovereign state,
> Envied by those who dare not imitate."

As the British troops neared the shore a French sentinel seeing the boats cried out, "*Qui Vive!*" "*La France!*" was the reply of a Highland officer. "*A quel regiment?*" questioned the sentinel. "*De la Reine,*" answered the quick-witted officer. The troops then passed on unmolested, the sentinel believing them to be part of a French regiment on the way from De Bougainville's camp to join Montcalm. They were again challenged at the headland of Samos, but this, too, they passed in safety, by replying to the sentinel, "Provision boats! don't make a noise; the English will hear us!"

In a few minutes after passing Samos they landed at the *Anse du Foulon*, and quickly disembarked. The volunteers at once began scaling the wooded heights, scrambling up among the rough bushes that then, as now, clustered thickly on the steep bank. De Vergor was not on his guard, but had gone to bed. He relied too much on the difficulties of the ascent. So completely was he taken by surprise that the foe were upon him before he could dress. He endeavored to escape, but was shot in the heel and captured. The guard was soon overpowered, and the troops below came scrambling up after their victorious comrades. Before the last of the boats had landed, the battery at Samos became aware of the real character of the force, and began to fire upon it. A party was detailed to silence this battery, and they did it quickly and effectually. Scarcely had these guns ceased when the sullen roar from Sillery told the British that the gunners there knew of their presence and were on the alert. This battery, too, was soon captured, and the river front immediately above Quebec was left entirely unprotected. Quickly the fleet of boats sped between the ship and the shore, until all the needed troops were

landed. At daybreak the heights were held by a large force that had succeeded in dragging several cannon up the difficult bank.

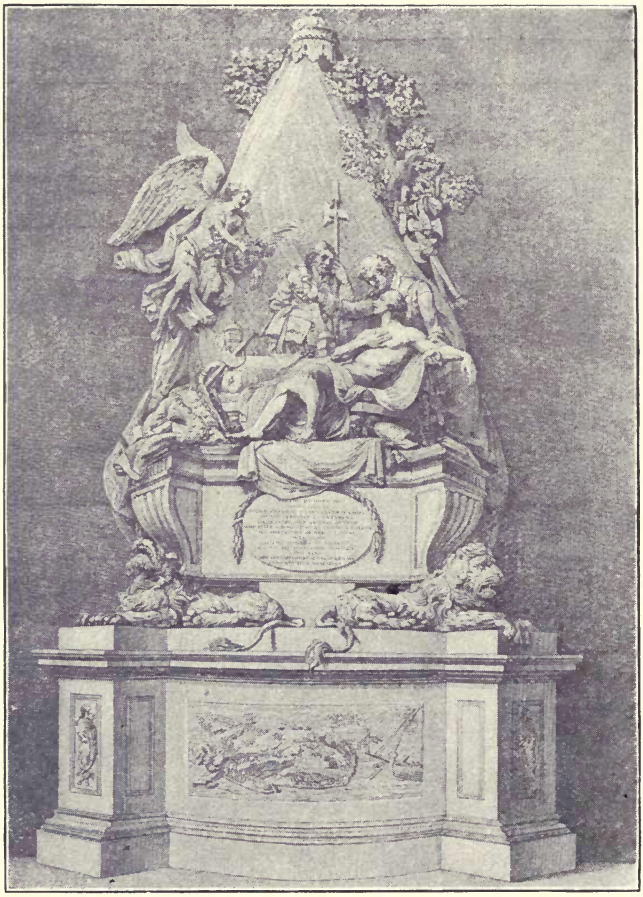
Wolfe at once looked about him for a battle-ground, and soon decided on drawing up his troops on the rough plateau known as the "Plains of Abraham." He now had what he had anxiously longed for—a prospect of an immediate meeting in a general engagement with the foe; yet victory was not certain, and a defeat would have been a horrible disaster in his present position. He had not exactly burnt his ships behind him, but retreat to them was an impossibility. The force in Quebec, too, although composed of inferior soldiers to his picked troops, vastly outnumbered his men. However, he hopefully awaited the coming of the enemy. As has already been pointed out he did not expect to survive this battle, but he felt sure that his brave soldiers would win the day. He would not shirk any danger, but with Murray and Monckton took command of the centre, where he anticipated that the heaviest fighting would occur.

Meantime in the early September morning, Montcalm, in his tent, was roused by the startling news of this unforseen landing effected by his gallant antagonist. He hurried at once to the city, followed by a motley crowd of soldiers and citizens. At break-neck speed he galloped on to the scene of action, and to his amazement found the rough plateau of the "Plains" occupied by a strong force of the enemy. For the first time since the commencement of the siege he seems to have lost his head and acted rashly. His troops were comparatively safe within the walls and it would have been next to impossible for Wolfe to have taken Quebec by assault. He was playing the enemy's game when he decided to begin an engagement at once. He hoped that Vaudreuil would join him with a strong force, but in this he was disappointed. His ardent spirit would brook no delay. His men, too, were eager for action, and with them he went at once to meet the foe. His thrilling voice, that had so often inspired his soldiers, urged on his excited troops to the charge for the honor of France, and on his spirited black steed he galloped from point to point brandishing his sword and urging his men to their arduous and perilous task.

The English troops waited steadily the charge of the foe, holding their ground with admirable firmness, notwithstanding the harassing fire of skirmishing parties. Wolfe went from company to company, cheering his men by word and deed. At ten in the morning he saw that the moment had come for the decisive blow.

The French assembled on a ridge in front of him, and collected their strength for the final charge. In a few moments the whole force was in motion, Montcalm on his black charger, leading the way. Volley after volley poured from the ranks as the French advanced on the steady phalanx of the British. In the opposing ranks not a soldier moved from his post, save when one fell and a comrade stepped forward to take the vacant place. When the enemy was within forty paces, the command "fire!" rang out and was passed rapidly along the line. As one man the whole body poured a leaden hail into the advancing ranks, a second almost instantly followed and c uel indentations in the line and heaps of fallen men told the effect of the fire. The French troops paused and wavered in their advance. A third well aimed volley at pistol distance changed the advance into a retreat. The British troops were then ordered to "charge!" and with a true British cheer they drove the scattered enemy in full flight toward Quebec.

Montcalm received a shot through the body, in the retreat, but succeeded in getting into the city. Wolfe who had taken up his station at the head of his grenadiers was three times wounded. He first received a slight flesh wound in the wrist at the beginning of the fight, and then in the height of the struggle a ball in the groin, but he bravely led on his men. Another charge lodged in his breast and he fell to rise no more. Lieutenant Browne of the grenadiers saw him stagger and rushed forward to give him a helping arm "support me," said Wolfe, "lest my gallant fellows see me fall," but he fell before Browne could reach him. He was carried to the rear by a volunteer named Henderson, Colonel Williamson, Lieutenant Browne and a private soldier. He was past the need of an earthly physician and refused to have one attend him. The torpor of death quickly seized his physical being, but he was roused by the words, "they run." "Who runs?" he called, his eye brightening for a moment. The glad news reached his dying ears, "the



OLFE'S MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

French." A happy smile passed over his face. But even at that moment, and while he was suffering intense agony from his wound, his duty was not forgotten, every detail of the fight and the surrounding country was vividly before this skilled strategist. He was dying in harness, and a soldier's command was almost the last to leave his lips. "Go, one of you, to Colonel Burton, and tell him to march down to the Charles river, to cut off their retreat from the bridge!" Then as he felt that his work was done, and done well, he turned on his side, with the words, "Now, God be praised, I die in peace!" And the true hero breathed his last—his death forever consecrating to the hearts of Canadians the little spot of rough green sward which is still marked by a stone column, bearing the brief inscription: "Here Wolfe died victorious, September 13, 1759."—A victor over the French and over death.

His brave antagonist, Montcalm, did not survive his defeat; he died in a house in Quebec which is still associated with his heroic memory.

By nightfall on the seventeenth, one and twenty British guns, were ready to open their deep voices on the city of Quebec. The gunners behind the strong walls seemed to have lost heart and only a feeble reply was made to the cannonading that opened upon them. Governor Ramezay at length sent out a flag of truce to the British for the purpose of considering terms of surrender. He made efforts to get favorable conditions but Townshend promply informed his messenger that if the city were not delivered into his hands by eleven o'clock on the following day he would capture it at the bayonet point. The city was surrendered by the time stipulated upon and on the afternoon of the eighteenth the grenadiers marched into Quebec.

In the meantime there was great anxiety in England. Wolfe after his repeated failures had sent a despatch which cast gloom over the public and the administration. Pitt himself began to despair, and to think that perhaps he had made a mistake in appointing so young a commander to so important and difficult a task. While England was still brooding over Wolfe's despatch another arrived very different in tone. It contained the news of his triumph and of his death; never was the nation more delirious with joy. Bon-fires were lit in all parts of the kingdom, bells were rung and cannon boomed forth the thankfulness of the people. France, England's ancient enemy, had

suffered defeat, and by the courage and perseverance of the youngest of England's leaders had been driven from the North American Continent. But in the rejoicing there was deep mourning; a great leader of men had been discovered only to be lost, and, at a time when the army sadly needed leaders, his death was bitterly deplored.

New England, too, rejoiced. Her soldiers had fought nobly to drive the French from Canada. Of the significance of the battle of the Plains of Abraham to them, but few of them could then realize. It was this battle that made the Revolutionary war possible. In this campaign and in the campaign against Louisburg many of their best officers and soldiers received their training. As has been said, "the battle of the Plains of Abraham was the true starting point for the independence of the United States."

On the eighteenth of October the British fleet was ready to sail for England, and on that day the ships started on their long journey across the Atlantic. The "Royal William," with flag at half-mast, led the fleet seaward bearing the body of the conqueror of Quebec. On November 16, the vessel arrived at Spithead. The nation honored its heroic dead, and, though Wolfe's body was buried in the family vault in the parish church at Greenwich, a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER VIII.

GUY CARLETON.

Guy Carleton a Favorite with Wolfe—Born in Cornwall—At the Siege of Quebec—Promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General—Governor-General of Canada—Visits England in the Interests of the Colony—His Policy with Regard to the Province of Quebec—Quebec Act Passed—This Act Not Satisfying to All Parties—General Carleton Returns to Canada—Canada Threatened with Invasion—Montgomery Invades the West—Arnold Marches Against Quebec — The "Continental" Army Before Quebec — Arnold's Demand for Surrender Treated with Derision—Montgomery Victorious in the West—Governor Carleton Escapes from Montreal with Difficulty—The Journey to Quebec—Montgomery Joins Arnold—Canadian Winter Hard on the "Continental" Army—Disloyalty Among the French—An Attack Planned—The Death of Montgomery—Arnold's Forces Driven Back With Loss—Congress Determines to Send a Larger Force into Canada—Commissioners Sent to Win Canadians to American Cause—Governor Carleton Remains on the Defensive—Reinforcements Reach Quebec in Spring—The British Drive the Americans from Before the City—The Invading Army Retires From Canada—Carleton Gets Control of Lake Champlain for the British—General Burgoyne Appointed to the Supreme Military Command—Governor Carleton Resigns His Office—Knighted by the King—Appointed to Succeed Clinton as Commander-in-Chief—The Friend of the Loyalists Who Settled in Canada—Created Baron Dorchester—Lord Dorchester Sent to Canada as Governor—Rules with Firmness and Wisdom—Dissatisfaction With the Quebec Act—The Constitutional Act Passed—A Critical Time in Canadian Affairs—Lord Dorchester Leaves Canada—The True Founder of British North America.

GENERAL WOLFE by his dogged determination, resolute will and extensive military experience won Canada from the French in 1759. He had with him at the great siege of Quebec a young officer who was afterwards to save Canada for England, and to do much to unite into a compact nation the naturally antagonistic races settled along the St. Lawrence. Guy Carleton had been selected by Wolfe as his quartermaster-general in the expedition against Quebec contrary to the wishes of the king and his ministers. Wolfe made no mistake in the choice; he had in his army no more trustworthy officer than the young man of thirty-four, who was to be the first truly great maker of Canada under the British régime, and who afterwards, as Lord Dorchester, was to lay the foundation of the Canada of to-day.

Guy Carleton, like many another brilliant soldier, was an Irishman, having been born at Strabane in September, 1724. He early began a military career and was trained in the wars that did so much to make Wolfe; but it was not until the siege of Quebec that his abilities as a soldier and an administrator began to be recognized. When the fortress surrendered he proved himself one of the most efficient officers in the new-won colony and at the second battle of Quebec, when De Lévis made a mighty effort to win back the city from the British troops and almost succeeded, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general for his brilliant services.

The Governor-General of Canada after the conquest of Canada was General Murray, but in 1766 he returned to England leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Æmilius Irving to conduct the Government. Five months after his departure Guy Carleton reached Quebec as Lieutenant-Governor and acting Governor-General; a year later he became Governor-General. Several of his councillors had been guilty of what he considered political misdemeanors and he promptly struck their names off the roll. He likewise dismissed several officers who were considered guilty of extortion. His action at the beginning of his rule was generally appreciated and gave the inhabitants of Canada, especially the French, confidence in him. He had long seen that there was much dissatisfaction in the Provinces, and he saw that it would continue and increase unless a radical change was made in the mode of governing Quebec. He had no easy community to rule; at that time there were in the country about 150,000 French and about 400 or 500 English, and the difficulties were increased by the fact that the British were, for the most part, Protestants, and the French, Roman Catholics. But he had a definite policy and in 1769 visited England leaving Hector Theophile Cramahe to conduct the government in his absence. He crossed the Atlantic with the hope of having the home government legislate according to what he saw to be the needs of the colony.

His policy as stated by Mr. William Houston was: "(1) To enlarge the area of the Province of Quebec so as to include within it as much as possible of the territory which had once belonged to French Canada; (2) to centralize both legislation and administration as much as possible under the control of

the Crown; (3) to secure the active influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the side of Great Britain in the impending struggles between her and the rebellious colonies; (4) to allay as much as possible the hostility of the conquered race by conceding to them the system of law to which they had been accustomed before the conquest; and (5) to make financial provision for the cost of government without resorting to the imposition of unpopular taxation."

It was no easy matter for General Carleton to bring about his wishes with regard to the "bill for reconstituting the government of the Province of Quebec," but after four years of arduous effort he had the satisfaction of seeing the Quebec Act passed—an act which did quite as much as the guns of the citadel to repel American invaders.

By this celebrated Act the boundaries of Canada were extended westward as far as the Mississippi and southward to the Ohio; the Catholics were assured of the free exercise of their religion, and by it "the clergy of the Catholic Church may hold, receive and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons as shall profess the said religion"; it restored the Custom of Paris in civil matters, but in criminal matters the law of England was to hold; supreme authority was vested in the Governor-General and an Executive Council of not more than twenty-three members, nor fewer than seventeen, this was to consist for the most part of persons of British birth.

This act caused a good deal of dissatisfaction, especially among the British colonists. A number of the leading statesmen of England protested against it, and Chatham declared that it destroyed the "liberty that ought to be the foundation of every constitution," and prophesied that it would soon lose His Majesty the hearts of all his American subjects." Carleton, however, knew the situation much better than the British parliamentarians and recognized that, while it would be unwelcome to the handful of English-speaking people in Quebec, it would be received enthusiastically by the French population, and in time of war would keep them loyal to the British Crown.

When General Carleton returned to Canada he found the country threatened with invasion. The American colonies had drawn the sword

against the motherland and had determined to drive the British from this continent. Washington, the commander of the forces, knew that while the British held Montreal and Quebec, they really held the key to this continent, and he despatched Montgomery against Montreal and the west, and Colonel Benedict Arnold against Quebec by the difficult route of the Kennebec and the Chaudière. In case Arnold was unsuccessful in his attempt, Montgomery was to join him and the two together were to make a united effort to drive the English from the stronghold Wolfe's courage and perseverance had won.

Arnold's march was one of the most remarkable in the history of war He embarked on the Kennebec towards the latter part of September, and struggled for days against that rapid stream, then portaged his canoes across the high land to the Chaudière, and swept down that turbulent river toward the St. Lawrence. After thirty days of severe toil, the troops found themselves reduced to the necessity of killing some dogs they had with them for food, and some even endeavored to devour the very moccasins they wore. On the fourth of November they reached a French settlement, where they procured food, and some of the famished soldiers ate so greedily that they died from the effect of their gluttony, and left their bones to bleach on the line of march. On the eighth, Point Lévis was reached, and after five days delay they succeeded in crossing the St. Lawrence, and landed unobserved at the very spot where Wolfe had landed sixteen years before.

Arnold expected that the *habitants* would eagerly rush to his banner, but in this he was disappointed. The French had no love for the British flag, but they found their lot under it much easier than it had been under France and her governors. Again, they had less love for the New Englanders; the hated *Bostonnais* had ever been their enemies, and so, of the two English-speaking masters they preferred the out-and-out Englishmen. But Arnold and his men had come far and had suffered much, and were eager to have their reward, so, although they had received little encouragement from the inhabitants of Canada, they drew up before the walls of Quebec and demanded an unconditional surrender.

When the citizens of Quebec saw the formidable force of the "Continental" army they trembled for the safety of their city, but their engineer, Mr. James Thompson, was far from being hopeless. He had received orders from General Carleton, who was in the west hopelessly endeavoring to stem the tide of invasion, to put Quebec into a state of defence. Palace, Hope and St. Louis gates, and the whole brow of Cape Diamond were fortified without loss of time. In the Lower Town all windows facing the river were closed, loopholes alone being left for musketry. The defences were done hastily, but Thompson had no doubt that they would keep out the foe till General Carleton arrived to take charge of the city, and cement the English and French within the citadel into one grand resisting force.

Thompson's hopefulness diffused itself among the citizens, and when Arnold requested them to open their gates, they treated his demands with derision, climbing on the walls and hurling at him the opprobrious name "Horse Jockey," in reference to his having traded with them as a horse-dealer on former occasions. Thompson treated his demands in a more serious way, levelling at his troops a twenty-four pounder, that had the effect of showing them that they had watchful enemies within Quebec. Arnold's force had been reduced by desertion by one-third of its number, and he felt that, with his present strength, it would be impossible to storm the city, so he retreated to Pointe-aux-Trembles to await the arrival of General Montgomery and his army.

In the meantime the British had been suffering in the west. Fort St. John's, Fort Chambly, and Montreal had surrendered in rapid succession, and it was with difficulty that Guy Carleton escaped from Montreal.

When Montreal fell, Governor Carleton felt that the only hope of saving Canada from the invading forces was to hasten to Quebec at once. Captain Bouchette, a hardy Canadian, undertook to pass him through the American lines. On a pitch dark night in November, the Governor of Canada accompanied by several trusty officers began his flight in a skiff propelled by muffled paddles. Not a word was spoken; and the commands were given by signs. Time and again they were almost discovered as they crept down the river past the watch-fires of the enemy. So near did they

approach to the sentinels at times that they were compelled to stop paddling altogether, and allow their skiff to drift as lifeless as a log down the stream. Once when in danger of drifting on the shore, they kept their skiff in mid-stream by propelling it for nine miles with their hands. They halted at Three Rivers and went to an inn to rest, and the tired Governor, resting his head on his arms, fell into a much-needed slumber. But he was soon rudely awakened by the loud talking of American soldiers in an adjoining room. He despaired of escaping, but Captain Bouchette with great cleverness succeeded in passing him and his party through their midst, and without loss of time their skiff was once more on its way to Quebec. They soon met and boarded the armed brig "Fell," and before long a favorable breeze had swept them to their goal. Their was great rejoicing in the city at their arrival, and the shouting and firing of joy-guns reached Arnold on his retreat to Pointe-aux-Trembles. Without delay Carleton examined the fortifications, and soon had everything in a fit state to stand a protracted siege.

On the first of December General Montgomery reached Arnold's camp, and the men, impatient from their inactivity, met him with exulting shouts. They clamored to be led against Quebec at once. Montgomery acquiesced in their wish, and on the fifth day of the month they were marched along the frozen roads to the city. When it was reached the American commander at once sent in a flag of truce, but Carleton would have no communication with rebels, and the siege commenced in earnest.

The Canadian winter had set in, and although Montgomery was not prepared for a lengthy siege, he placed several guns on the far side of the St. Charles, four on Point Lévis, and a strong battery of six pieces before St. John's Gate, and began to bombard the city. In the meantime his men took possession of the country round about, and soon from every important point could be seen the crimson or red and black flag of the "Continental" army.

The inhabitants, particularly the French, began to think that Carleton would yet have to surrender, and not a few living outside the city walls became sympathetic with the rebels. The suburb of St. Roch was particularly disloyal; every house sheltered one or more of the enemy, who kept up a constant

STATUE TO GOVERNOR SIMCOE

series of petty attacks on the city. The famous palace erected by the Intendant Bigot in this suburb offered an excellent opportunity to the foe, and they crowded its cupola with riflemen who succeeded in picking off several of the British sentries; but Carleton turned a nine-pounder on this position, and soon the lordly palace, so famous in the history of New France was laid in ruins.

All through the month of December the siege lasted with but little injury being done to either side. The Americans were becoming disheartened and many believed that their long and trying march had been in vain. Their one hope lay in attempting to take the city by assault, and their general decided on adopting this course. Towards the end of the month the order was given for every man to hold himself in readiness for a night attack. A gathering storm was to be the signal for the assembling, and eagerly the officers and men watched the heavens for the propitious sign. Several times they were called out, but the moon swept up from behind the clouds just as the advance was about to be sounded, and all were sent to their quarters.

At last, on the night of December the thirteenth, leaden clouds swept down from the north, and all felt that the decisive time had arrived. The skies grew darker and darker and at two o'clock on the following morning Montgomery called out his men, and gave the officers their orders.

Colonel Livingstone, in command of a regiment of mercenary Canadians, and Major Brown, with a part of a Boston regiment, were detached to make a false attack on St. John's Gate, and if possible to set it on fire. Colonel Arnold at the head of a strong force was to march round by the way of the suburb of St. Roch; while General Montgomery took upon himself the almost foolhardy task of leading a band round the base of the cliff, in the face of the fact that a strong guard was posted in this position. If he and Arnold were successful they were to unite their forces at the foot of Mountain Hill, and the forcing of Prescott Gate, and the taking of the Upper Town would be a comparatively easy task.

Shortly before daylight they moved to the attack. Colonel Livingstone's command, for some unexplained reason, was altogether unsuccessful, and retreated without even attempting to carry out their orders. Some ascribe it

to the depth of the snow, that made their advance impossible, while others say that the Canadian mercenaries failed the Americans at the critical moment.

Montgomery and his men crept slowly along the St. Lawrence from Wolfe's Cove, till they reached the base of the cliff on which stands the modern citadel. Here, under the frowning heights that loomed up threateningly through the piercing storm, they found the narrow passage known as Pres-de-ville, protected by pickets and they were compelled to halt and reconnoitre.

General Carleton had expected an attack from this side, and had not only protected the pass by pickets but had erected in it a blockhouse in which was a battery of three guns. Here a force of about fifty men was stationed under Captain Barnsfare, a master of a transport. On this fateful morning the men were on the alert, and the presence of the Americans soon became known.

Montgomery went forward with his carpenters to cut away the palisades, and helped pull them down with his own hands. This work completed, he and several of his officers, with great foolhardiness, advanced along the pass towards the blockhouse. As they saw no light they took it for granted that the soldiers there were not watchful. But this was what Carleton had hoped for. Captain Barnsfare gave the command to fire, and Sergeant Hugh McQuarters, who was in charge of the guns, sent a shower of grape-shot hurtling along the pass. At the same time the small-arms of the guards rang out with telling effect. Through the storm several men were seen to plunge forward and fall, never to rise again. They were General Montgomery, his two aides-de-camp, and a number of brave soldiers. His bewildered troops did not even attempt to carry off the body of their commander, but beat a hasty retreat, leaving him to be covered by the thickly falling snow. They could not have done otherwise; for ten minutes the small-arms of the soldiers rang out, and in the narrow defile no one could have shown himself without meeting instant death. So ended the attack from the Pres-de-Ville side of the city, and it might be added that the siege itself was practically at an end,

for the hope of the Americans lay dead in the narrow pass with three death-wounds, one in the chin, one in the groin, and one in the thigh.

The sound of the conflict had reached the Upper Town, and every bell in the city was ringing furiously to call the people to arms. The walls were soon lined with anxious faces, and the troops of Arnold, now slowly advancing along Sault-au-Matelot Street through a blinding storm of sleet, had a vigilant foe awaiting them. Several barricades had been erected to guard this entrance to the city, and on these they boldly advanced. Arnold was wounded, and had to retire, but as he was carried to the rear he urged his brave followers on with cheering words. Nothing daunted, they bent forward in the face of the stinging blast, and plunged through gathering snow-drifts till the first barrier was reached. Here, a short, sharp fight took place, but with heroic dash they entered the embrasures and overpowered the guard. They advanced to the second barrier, but this was more powerfully and skilfully constructed, and was guarded by a stronger and more determined force, and after a desperate struggle they were compelled to meditate a retreat. But before they could put their thoughts into action, Captain Laws at the head of two hundred men marched out of Palace Gate and captured a large body of them. Some of the more daring, seeing that retreat was cut off, boldly dashed across the uncertain ice in the bay of St. Charles, and found safety on the opposite shore. Once more the rocky citadel had withstood a siege, and with the defeat of the attacking army and the capture of so many of their men, all fear of American success was removed. However, Arnold did not leave the vicinity of Quebec, but with about eight hundred men kept up the siege until spring.

In the meantime, when General Schuyler, who had been promoted to the command of the army invading Canada, learned of Montgomery's death and Arnold's defeat, he advised Congress to send at least 3000 men into Canada. It was impossible to detach so large a force from the comparatively small army under Washington, and the American commander-in-chief gave orders for the raising of at least one thousand anti-British Canadians.

Congress once more appealed to the inhabitants of Canada to assist in casting off the tyrant's yoke. Fearing that they would make but little headway with arms they sent a commission into Canada for the purpose of rousing the Canadians. One of this celebrated commission was Benjamin Franklin, but, as the French Canadians were aware of the active part he had taken fifteen years before in influencing England to make a determined attack on their country, he was looked upon with distrust and his diplomacy made but little headway. While Franklin was endeavoring to rouse the lay-men, Father Carrol, an ex-Jesuit, made efforts to gain the sympathy of the clergy; but he, too, totally failed. The Quebec Act had given them the liberty of worship they desired and they felt that they could trust England. On the other hand they had no faith in the American leaders. They remembered that on October 21, 1774, Congress had addressed the British people and had "demanded the proscription of the religion, laws, and other cherished institutions of the Canadians—in fact had called for their total abasement." The Catholics of Canada were, therefore, prepared to resist invasion.

Governor Carleton, had he wished, might have sallied forth from the Gates of Quebec and driven Arnold's force from before the walls, but he remembered what had happened to Montcalm when he ventured forth and how narrowly the English had escaped defeat in the second battle of Quebec; and so, with plenty of provisions for the winter, he determined to keep his troops behind the safe shelter of the strong walls of the city, until reinforcements could arrive in the spring. On April 1, General Wooster took the chief command of the army before Quebec, and erecting new batteries, continued the siege, but at the beginning of May, General John Thomas took over the command. He found that the American force numbered nearly 2000 men, but as small-pox was prevalent among the troops the effectives did not amount to probably over 1500. The hardships of the winter and disease had done much to exhaust the American troops, and General Thomas began to think seriously of retreating from before the city. He however, determined to make one last effort to storm the walls.

The ice had now left the river and considerable shipping was huddled in the shadow of the mighty rock. He prepared a fire-ship, and with the ebb of

the tide sent it down the river in the hope of causing a conflagration among the English vessels, and further hoped that during the confusion which would arise his men might storm the walls.

The fire-ship was a failure and burned itself out before reaching the vessels. While it was still burning, however, from the heights of Quebec, British vessels were seen sailing up the St. Lawrence. They came laden with supplies and reinforcements. On their arrival Governor Carleton with 1000 men and six field pieces sallied forth from Quebec, but the Americans were already in flight towards Montreal, and in their haste they left behind the whole of their artillery, stores and baggage, and over two hundred of their sick and wounded. Their flight up the St. Lawrence was without order, and when they reached Sorel, the majority of them were found to have cast aside even their arms. General Thomas died at this place of small-pox and General John Sullivan took over the command. For a time Carleton kept up the pursuit in person and then returned to Quebec. The Americans saw that they were hopelessly beaten and Arnold, the bravest of their soldiers, at that time wrote to General Sullivan in the following words: "The junction of the Canadas with the colonies is now at an end. Let us quit them and secure our own country before it is too late." Two days after these words were written Montreal was once more in the possession of the Canadians.

The Americans driven from Canada, Carleton endeavored to carry the war into their own country and for that purpose had a number of vessels launched on Lake Champlain. Captain Pringle had command of the fleet. He at first made little headway against the American vessels on the Lake which were in charge of Arnold, who in the end suffered so great a loss that he was compelled to retreat. By the foresight of Carleton the English thus gained control of Lake Champlain.

In the following year General Burgoyne was appointed to the supreme military command and arrived in Quebec in May. Governor Carleton felt hurt by this appointment and wrote to Lord Germaine, defending his military conduct and shortly after resigned his office and left Canada. The British authorities never made a greater mistake than when they took away the military command from Carleton. The disgrace of Saratoga was but a

punishment for their ignorance. In the following year General Haldimand was appointed Governor. He was a very different man from Carleton—severe, tyrannical, despotic. He soon gained the hatred of the Canadians, who could not but contrast his harsh rule with the mild measures adopted by his predecessor.

Carleton's services were recognized by the king and on his return to England he was knighted. The war in America continued to drag wearily on but General Carleton was to take no active interest in it until its close. In the year 1782 he was appointed to succeed Clinton as Commander-in-chief of the Northern British Army in America. At length the end came and New York was evacuated by the British troops. At this tragic moment in his country's history he was able to do valiant service for Canada. It was due to Sir Guy Carleton that so many of the Loyalists sought refuge in Canada, and he did all in his power to have them properly provided for in their new home. At the close of the war he was created Baron Dorchester for his services with the army in America.

Governor Haldimand remained in Canada until 1785 when he was recalled; and in the following year, much to the delight of the Canadians, Lord Dorchester was sent to Canada as Governor. He at once entered sympathetically into the strained situation which had been created by the despotic rule of Haldimand and did much to restore confidence among the French in the British. In 1787 he appointed a committee to enquire into the unsatisfactory state of education in the Province of Quebec, and in this way did not a little to disseminate learning in that province. Due to the influx of U. E. Loyalists Upper Canada required his attention, and in 1788 he divided the province into four judicial districts, Lunenburg, from the Ottawa River to Gananoque; Mecklenburg, from Gananoque to Trent; Nassau, from Trent to Long Point; and Hesse, from Long Point to Lake St. Clair; in each of these districts he appointed a judge and a sheriff to administer justic .

But dissatisfaction continued. The British colonists were thoroughly discontented with the Quebec Act and were urgent in their demands for the Habeas Corpus, Trial by Jury, and an elective legislative assembly. As a

result of this discontent the Constitutional Act was passed by the British parliament. Lord Dorchester had not a little to do with the framing of this act and with having it successfully pass the Lords and Commons. He had gone to England in 1791, leaving Major-General Clarke to adminster the government, but in 1793 he returned to Canada.

It was now a critical time in Canadian affairs. The French Revolution was stirring Europe to its depths, and the revolutionary spirit found a place in many hearts in Canada. He had ever been a friend to the French; kind, generous and sympathetic, and his presence was like oil on the troubled waters. However, the British inhabitants of Canada were dissatisfied with his attitude, believing him too kindly disposed to the conquered race.

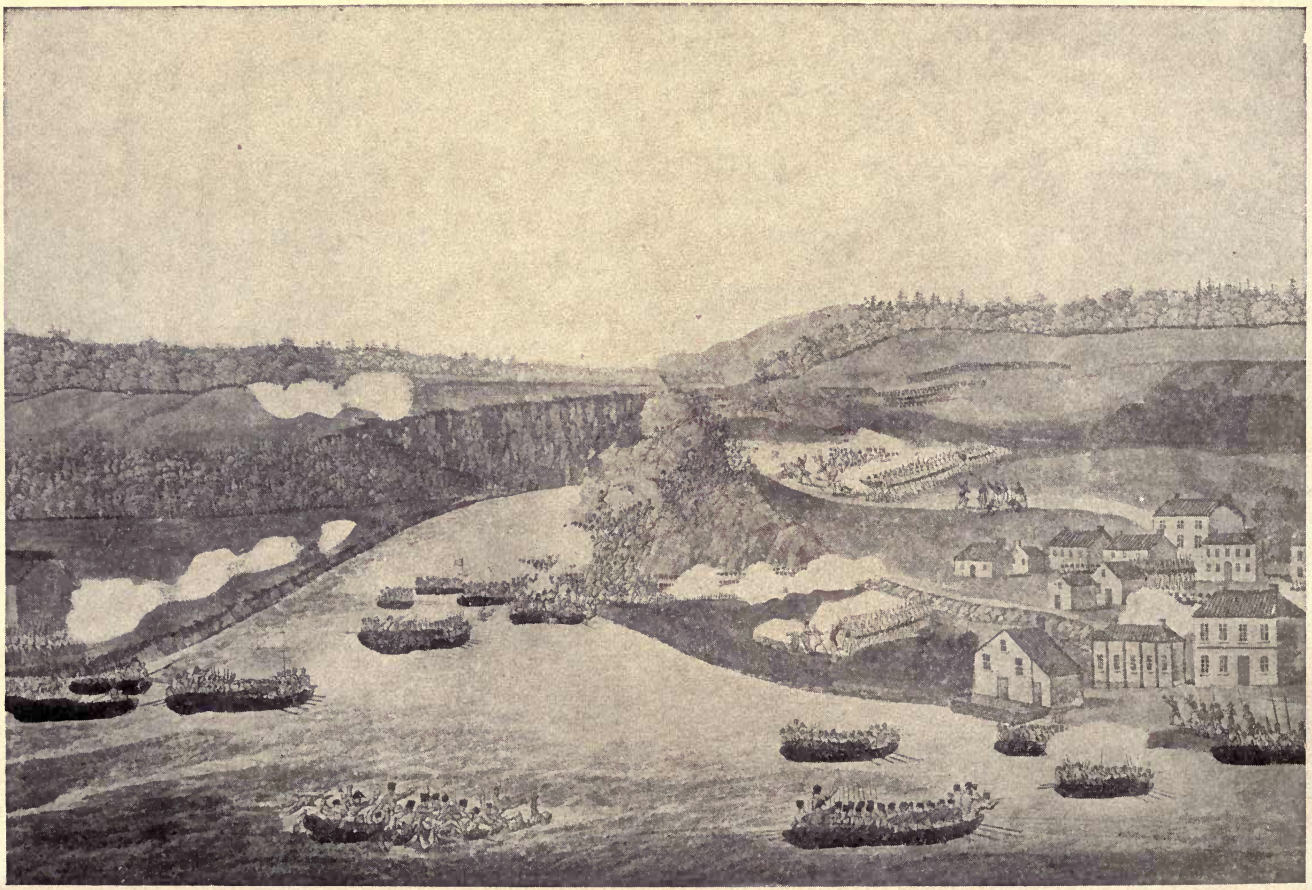
For three years longer Lord Dorchester remained in Canada devoted to the interests of the provinces and doing all in his power to unite into one people the French and English living under the British flag in America, and to make the French loyal to that flag. That the Province of Quebec has been, on the whole, loyal to England during the past hundred years is largely due to Lord Dorchester's mild and considerate rule. When he left Canada it must have been with considerable regret. For nearly forty years his life had been intimately connected with the Province of Quebec, and he had resided in the country for over twenty. He saw the possibilities of the new province he had done so much to permanently base. But for him it would have been lost to England in 1776; and his attitude to the inhabitants did much to shape the course of such men as Lord Durham and Lord Elgin. Until his death in 1808 he continued to watch the growth of British North America with the belief that a great and United people, a worthy rival of the young Republic to the south, would yet be established along the St Lawrence and by the great lakes.

CHAPTER IX.

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE.

Simcoe's Father Killed at the Great Siege of Quebec—His Son's Early Education—Begins His Military Career when Nineteen Years Old—Sails for America—Reaches Boston on Day of Battle of Bunker Hill—At the Battle of Brandywine—Appointed Major of the Queen's Rangers—An Efficient Officer—Promoted to the Rank of Lieutenant-Colonel—The Character of the Man Shown in His Orders to the Rangers—A Narrow Escape from Death—A Prisoner—The Death of Major André—Appreciated by the Loyalists in America—Through Ill-Health Forced to Return to England—Elected to Parliament—Takes Part in the Discussion on the Constitutional Act—Appointed Governor of Upper Canada—Reaches Quebec on the Ship "Triton"—Proceeds to Seat of Government for Upper Canada, Newark—Sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor at Kingston—Selects His Executive Council—Summons His Parliament to Meet at Newark—In His Opening Address Governor Simcoe Eulogizes the Country—Important Measures Introduced by the Legislature—Governor Simcoe Takes a Paternal Interest in the Province—Holds Joseph Brant in High Esteem—Journeys through the Western Peninsula—Investigates the Site of Toronto for Future Capital of Province—The Second Session of the Legislature—Governor Simcoe Fears American Invasion—First Meeting of the Executive Council at York—The Building of Yonge Street—Builds Castle Frank—"One Whose Door is Always Open"—Difficulties Between the Americans and the Indians—Simcoe's Diplomatic Attitude—Raised to the Rank of Major-General—His Efforts to Create a Royal Navy on the Lakes—Appointed Governor of St. Domingo—A Difficult Task—Returns to England—Command of Plymouth Entrusted to Simcoe—The Death of Lieutenant-General Simcoe.

THE life of John Graves Simcoe, the first Governor of Upper Canada, was intimately associated with the American continent from his earliest days. He was but seven years old when General Wolfe won Quebec from the French. In that great siege his father, John Graves Simcoe, commander of the "Pembroke," was killed. Shortly before the siege Commander Simcoe had been captured by the French and taken prisoner to Quebec. While on his way to the city and when a prisoner, he had been careful to note the fortifications and the peculiarities of the river, and when Wolfe's fleet faced the difficulties of the navigation of the river approaching Quebec, he was able to make a chart that was of the greatest service to his leader in bringing his fleet to its destination.



THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS, OCT. 13, 1813

Although the son of Commander Simcoe had at an early age made up his mind to follow a military career he was, like most other boys of his class at that time, to receive a very excellent general education. He first attended the Free Grammar School at Exeter, and from there went to the celebrated school at Eton and afterwards to Merton College, Oxford. He was a diligent student and devoted much time to history and the classics. The deeds of the heroes of the past were his delight; so fond did he become of the classics that they were his constant companions on the battlefields of America, and during his arduous duties in the forests of Ontario.

At nineteen he was to begin his military career. He then obtained an ensign's commission in the Thirty-Fifth Regiment. About this time war was threatening in America. The leaders in the colonies were most out-spoken against what was then called English tyranny. It was soon seen that war could not be averted, and when at length the blow fell troops were hurriedly embarked for the thirteen colonies. Among the first to be sent was the Thirty-Fifth Regiment. Simcoe, however, did not sail with it, but followed in a separate ship shortly after. He reached Boston on the memorable 17th day of June, 1775.

On that day the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, and the British troops learned that the rude Provincials, untrained in war, save that which they had experienced in protecting their homes on the borders from the Indians and French, were able to fight bravely and skilfully. Those in authority on that day for the first time fully realized the tremendous task they would have to put down the rebellion.

Simcoe did not long remain attached to the Thirty-Fifth. An opportunity presenting itself he purchased the command of a company of the Fortieth Regiment on September 11, 1777, and led his company with distinction in the battle of Brandywine when General Howe defeated General Washington. On this day the Queen's Rangers, a Provincial corps, acquitted itself with great bravery and suffered severely in officers and men. General Howe praised it for its courage and appointed Captain Simcoe, who had won great distinction in this battle, to the Rangers with the Provincial rank of major.

The Queen's rangers was a unique regiment—a forerunner of the Rough Riders of the United States and the Mounted Infantry of South Africa. It was a regiment of scouts which had been recruited for the most part in Connecticut. It was a mixed body of foot soldiers and mounted men. It had more freedom than other corps and was somewhat independent in its actions, its commander being permitted to act on his own initiative and not being compelled to wait for orders from the Commander-in-Chief. The strength of this celebrated regiment was between 500 and 600. It was a flying column and its operations extended over a wide district so that the Queen's Rangers and their commander became more widely known than probably any other regiment in America.

Major Simcoe was through his new command brought much in contact with the people of America, and he did all in his power to conciliate them. His desire ever was to keep the loyal, loyal; and to win to the motherland those who were luke-warm, or even enemies. The Queen's Rangers, while under the command of General Simcoe, never acted brutally towards their foes or failed to respect property. The greater part of the year 1778 was spent in foraging expeditions, and so much were Major Simcoe's services appreciated that Sir Henry Clinton appointed him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

The character of the man and the manner in which he conducted his regiment is well shown in orders issued to the Rangers in 1778. In these orders he said "he doubted not but that all ranks of the regiment were sensible that the undaunted spirit which had rendered them the terror of their enemies was not more honorable to them than that abhorrence of plunder which distinguishes the truly brave man from the cowardly ruffian and which had left a favorable impression on such of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania as had been in their power." As Mr. D. B. Read, in his *Life and Times of General Simcoe*, writes concerning those words "they seem to say in trumpet tones that Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe was every inch a soldier and had all the characteristics of the British officer of the old school—honor, integrity, courage and capacity."

Through the years 1778 and 1779, Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe led the Rangers on many important expeditions and rarely failed to score successes.

In October, 1779, he had a narrow escape from death through a fall from his horse. He was taken prisoner at this time, and so bitter were the rebels against the Rangers and their leader that many of them clamored for his death, but on the last day of the year he was exchanged and returned to Staten Island where his regiment was stationed.

The Rangers were now operating in a new field. The British troops were besieging Charlestown, South Carolina, and in April Simcoe's regiment was added to the besieging force and remained before the place until it capitulated in May, 1780. In this same year Simcoe was to suffer a loss which he felt more keenly than probably any other loss of his life—the death of his friend and comrade in arms, the brilliant and cultured Major André. In a sketch such as the present it is not possible to defend or condemn Washington and the other American officers for their action with regard to André. The question is open to much controversy and space will not permit of its discussion. Simcoe certainly condemned them and looked upon the slaying of André as a brutal murder. His bitter words written immediately after the death of his friend show how keenly he felt the matter. "The useless murder of Major André," he wrote, "would almost, were it possible, annihilate that wish which consentaneous to the ideas of our Sovereign and the Government of Great Britain has ever operated on the officers of the British army—the wish of reconciliation, of speedy reunion with their revolting fellow subjects in America." Despite his feelings with regard to the death of André he continued to act with his customary generosity towards his foes till the close of 1781.

The aid given by the French, the sympathy bestowed on the rebels by their supporters in England, and the successes in the field were telling, and the rebellion, instead of growing weaker, waxed stronger with each day. At length came Yorktown and, with its capitulation, practically the close of the war.

Simcoe was in Yorktown when it surrendered, but he was no longer fit for active service. He was in wretched health, having been thoroughly worn out by the steady service he had experienced since coming to America. From the day of the battle of Bunker Hill till the surrender of Yorktown he had

been continuously in the field save for the few months when he was a prisoner, and the exposure, the arduous marches, and the trying battles had at length broken down his robust constitution. A sea voyage was the only thing that could save his life, and so he was sent to England on parole. His services were appreciated by the government, and the king conferred on him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regular army.

Shortly after reaching England he received the following most gratifying testimonial from Loyalists in America, which gives an idea of the work done by him while in command of the Rangers and shows why he was through life such an ardent enthusiast for the United Empire Loyalists;—

"I have the honor, on behalf of the deputies of the Associated Loyalists in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the lower counties of Delaware, by their particular direction, and being fully authorized by them for that purpose, now to express to you the high sense they entertain of your military and political conduct during the late rebellion in America. They are at a loss whether most to admire your activity and gallantry in the field or your generous and affectionate attachment to His Majesty's loyal subjects in America, and your unwearied exertions as well to promote their true interest as to preserve and protect their property.

"As they have with pleasure and satisfaction had frequent opportunities of seeing your army crowned with success, so they have often experienced the marks of your favor, attention and protection; these acts have endeared you to them and claim their warmest gratitude. Your particular countenance to and zeal for the Associated Loyalists, and your ready concurrence in the measures proposed for their relief, and kind solicitations on their behalf, have made an impression on their minds words cannot express and time only can erase; and they have exceedingly to regret that the opportunity was not afforded them of evincing to the world, under your command, the sincerity of these professions and their attachment to their Sovereign.

"They would deem themselves culpable if they did not take this opportunity to mention that your abhorrence of the pillage that too generally took place in this country, and the success that attended your vigilant

exertions to prevent it, have marked your character and ensured to you the esteem of all orders and ranks of good men.

"Your sudden and unexpected departure from America prevented their paying this tribute of respect to you personally, which they entreat you now to accept, and that you will be assured under all changes and circumstances your name will be dear to them, and that their wishes and prayers will always be for your prosperity and happiness."

The rest in the climate of old England rapidly restored Colonel Simcoe to health, and by the time he was released from parole in the beginning of 1783 he was completely recovered.

There is little to note in the life of this distinguished soldier after his return from America, until he was sent out as Governor of Upper Canada. One important event, however, occurred in his life. It was during this time of peace and comparative inaction that he married Miss Guillem, a near relative of Admiral Graves and a distant relative of his own.

He was, however, not idle in the years between the American Revolution and his own appointment to the important position of Governor of Upper Canada. He took an active interest in the political life of his country and assiduously studied the great questions of the day. A mere follower he could not be, and in 1790 he was elected to represent the borough of St. Maw's, Cornwall. He thus entered Parliament at a time when the race difficulties in British North America were agitating the rulers, and when the question of dividing Canada into two Provinces for the better government of the country was being discussed. At the close of the war of the Revolution many of Simcoe's Loyalist friends had flocked to the British possessions north of the United States, and he very naturally took a particular interest in the country to which they had gone. On March 7, 1791, Mr. Pitt introduced his celebrated bill designed to meet these difficulties, and after a warm discussion in which Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe took an active part the Constitutional Act became Law.

It would seem that Colonel Simcoe was appointed Governor immediately on the passage of the bill, for on May 20, he wrote to a friend in a vein that would indicate that he had received the appointment. In his letter he

showed a deep interest in the country. Two classes were uppermost in his mind—the Indians, and the Loyalists. He seems to have taken no interest in the French in America, never probably having got over his antipathy to them on account of the death of his father at Quebec. He certainly showed great animosity toward the French during the Revolutionary war, and several times expressed himself as anxious to have his Rangers opposed to them.

In September Governor Simcoe sailed for Canada on the "Triton," Captain Murray, and after a voyage in which much heavy weather was experienced, reached Quebec, November 11, 1791. A brief stay was made at the historical old rock of Quebec, and then the Governor and his escort proceeded to Montreal where the winter was spent. He had with him a part of the Queen's Rangers, and during the winter another division of the regiment marched over-land on snow-shoes, from New Brunswick, and joined him at Montreal. Although the years that had passed since he led the regiment against the Continental troops had greatly changed its personnel, a number of the officers had fought with him during the war, and it was naturally an added pleasure to him in his new life to have his old corps by his side.

He seems to have been in no great rush to reach the seat of government for Upper Canada, Newark or Niagara. He stayed at Montreal until June. No doubt he had much to do to prepare for his long sojourn on the great lakes remote from centres of civilized life; besides, as he would have to make the trip westward in canoes, it was wise to wait until the summer was well advanced before venturing on the difficult waters of the St. Lawrence. Accompanied by his fleet of canoes the Governor and his party leisurely ascended the mighty and most varied of rivers, delighted with the leaping rapids that checked their progress, the broad lakes and the fair islands past which they paddled as though floating through fairyland. They made several long stops *en route*, and it was not until the beginning of July that Kingston was reached.

In this city, second to Quebec and Montreal in historical importance for Canada, Simcoe was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and at once proceeded to organize his government. He selected as his Executive Council: William Osgoode, William Robertson, James Baby, Alexander

Grant, and Peter Russell. The Council was formed on the day on which he was sworn in, but the Legislative Councillors, Robert Hamilton, Richard Cartwright and John Munro, were not selected until July 17, when the Executive Council met at Kingston. Four days after this meeting the Governor left Kingston for Newark.

It is difficult to tell just why Newark was selected, but no doubt the government looked upon it as the most central position between Fort Detroit, which was still occupied by British troops, and the fortified position of Kingston; however, it was only a temporary arrangement, and he was but a few weeks in the country before he decided to establish the Capital in a better and safer locality. Newark was moreover a centre of Loyalist population, and no doubt this was one reason why Governor Simcoe summoned the Parliament to meet there. Besides he believed in the government being conducted with considerable pomp and ceremony, and the soldiers from Fort Niagara would serve to give dignity to the opening of Parliament.

At this time there were, besides the Loyalists about Newark, some ten thousand English speaking inhabitants in other parts of the Province and ten thousand Indians, all faithful to the British. He was ruler over a vast country with a sparse population, but he came to it with the intention of building up a magnificent province in the heart of the continent, one which in time would be a worthy rival of the best of the New England States. He summoned his first parliament to meet on September 17. It was at an awkward time, for Canada was then altogether an agricultural country, and the members of the Legislative Assembly found no slight difficulty in leaving their farms at a season when their crops needed their undivided attention; but sufficient of them gathered together, having travelled in some cases hundreds of miles in canoes and through trackless forests to permit the business of the country to be done.

The Parliament was opened with a display that made a deep impression on the English, and the Indians who assembled in some force for this momentous occasion. In his opening address Governor Simcoe showed how well he had in the few months he had been in the West forecast the probabilities of the Province of Upper Canada. "The natural advantages," he said,

"of the Province of Upper Canada are inferior to none on this side of the Atlantic. There can be no separate interest through its whole extent. The British form of government prepared the way for its speedy colonization, and I trust that your fostering care will improve the favorable situation, and that a numerous and agricultural people will speedily take possession of the soil and climate, which, under British laws and the munificence with which His Majesty has granted the lands of the Crown, offer such manifest and peculiar encouragements.

The first session of the Legislature did not close until October 15, 1792, and in the month of its session many of the most important measures that have shaped the destiny of Canada were introduced. The two most important things it did, however, were to establish English law and Trial by Jury. When the Assembly was dismissed Simcoe set to work to devise ways and means for rapidly developing the Province, and of making the people under his rule comfortable in their new life.

He was an aristocratic ruler, and took a paternal interest in every one in the Province, but the U. E. Loyalists were his favorite subjects, and to them he gave the best lands and the best offices. From the beginning of his rule he put forth every possible effort to attract them to Upper Canada. His aim was to plant along the border of United States, from one end of the Province to the other, a compact line of loyal subjects who would serve as a barrier to protect Canada should war, a thing he thought inevitable, again arise. He had an eye to the military future of the country and, largely for the purpose of having centres of organization in time of need, he had Lieutenants of counties appointed. He seems to have had a high opinion of the savages and did everything in his power to make them feel that he was their friend and father. It was fortunate for him at this time that in Western Canada Chief Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, an Indian of exceptional power and tact, was looked up to by the tribes then living in Upper Canada. Simcoe while Governor was to be brought much in contact with this great chief, and as years went on they mutually grew in respect for each other.

British troops were still in possession of Fort Detroit and Fort Niagara, both of which places were properly within the territory of the United States.

TWO PLACES OF HISTORIC INTEREST IN QUEBEC

St. John's Gate and Hope Hill.

In the winter of 1793, Simcoe felt called upon to visit Detroit on a tour of inspection. The journey had to be made through almost pathless forests and he determined to take it by stages, making his first stop at Chief Brant's celebrated Mohawk village on the Grand River. He left Navy Hall, Newark, on February 4, and reached the Grand on the 7th of the month. Here he received a most enthusiastic welcome from the Indians, and especially from Brant to whom he brought a letter of introduction from the Duke of Northumberland. He stayed with the Mohawks for three days and proceeding on his way visited the Delaware Indian village on the Thames. He then continued his journey to Detroit, where, on February 24, he reviewed the Twenty-Fourth Regiment and carefully and critically examined the fortifications. On his return journey he once more paid Brant a visit which increased the great chief's admiration for the first Governor of Upper Canada.

When the Governor's party reached Navy Hall he had fully made up his mind that Newark was not the place for either the Government House or the Capital of the Province. Toronto seemed to him much more favorable for the temporary capital, although that place, too, though comparatively remote from the American border, was open to attack from the front. He had already made up his mind to choose some inland spot where the Americans could only bring an army with great difficulty, and where the people of Upper Canada would have ample time to concentrate their forces to resist invasion. A spot on the banks of a little inland stream was chosen as the most suitable place, and he named the spot after the venerable Capital of England, and the river after England's most celebrated one. Meanwhile, on May 2, he set out to investigate the site of Toronto. The town and township of Toronto had been planned before Simcoe came to Canada and from the first he had been so favorably impressed with the spot that he determined to give the matter of establishing his government there more serious thought. After careful investigation he concluded to take up his residence on the banks of the Don, but the Legislature was to continue to meet at Newark while he remained Governor of Upper Canada.

At the second session of the Legislature which opened May 31, 1793, Simcoe urged on the people the necessity of organizing and remodelling the

militia. He spoke in enthusiastic praise of the British Constitution and impressed upon the people the need of cultivating loyalty. He feared American invasion, and expected that sooner or later Niagara would be attacked, and he was desirous of having the country not only prepared to resist invasion, but, if possible, to win back much of the territory lost during the Revolutionary war. This second session closed early in July, and at the end of the month Simcoe moved to Toronto and took up his permanent abode in a tent especially made for the conditions of the climate, and in this tent he spent his first summer and winter in Toronto while he looked about for a suitable place on which to erect a Government House. Shortly after he moved from Newark to Toronto news came of the great victory of the Duke of York over the French, and Simcoe seized the occasion to do honor to the Duke by changing the name of the new settlement to York, and so, on August 27, the place was rechristened.

The first meeting of the Executive Council was held at the garrison in August, 1793, but no effort was yet made to change the place of meeting of the Legislature—a thing, by the way, to which the Loyalists of Newark vehemently objected.

At this time there were practically no houses at York, the people dwelt in tents in the wilderness, but the axe and the saw were at work, and along the border of the fine harbor which now fronts the fairest city of the Dominion rude log habitations were springing up.

During the first year in York Simcoe was much pleased with the number of Loyalists that flocked into his Province. The country was likely to have a large population sooner than he expected. Many came from the United States direct, but many more had journeyed from distant New Brunswick whence they had fled when the war was concluded. It is true that in numerous cases they were in the direst poverty, but the Governor was considerate of them and gave orders for their support where there was real need. With a great ruler's foresight he saw that Toronto, whether it was to be the permanent capital of the Province or not, was to be the centre of trade with the west. At present the only road for commerce was along the great lakes and rivers and the traders to reach the great portage had to pass through

American territory. He believed that a shorter and better road could be established, and to this end in canoes and on foot he explored the wilderness north of Toronto. His explorations were not without result and on this trip he planned Yonge Street leading from York to the Georgian Bay by way of Lake Simcoe, and in the following year the Queen's Rangers were set to work to open up that great highway. He was a great promoter of road-making, and about this same time planned a military road from one end of the Province to the other. He carefully mapped out such a road and named it Dundas Street. A portion of the road was constructed, and so confident were many of the settlers that a great highway would in a few years be completed that they settled along the proposed route. Had he remained in Canada it no doubt would have been finished, but his departure brought disappointment to many of the settlers. Those who followed him in authority thought more of their own aggrandisement and that of their friends than of the development of the Province.

Governor Simcoe meanwhile had been looking about for a suitable spot on which to erect a permanent abode and found a place that pleased him on the banks of the Don. He decided to build Castle Frank—so named in honor of his eldest son. The "Castle" was a log house, a fine product of the backwoods, but from its position and object was not unworthy of the name. Dr. Henry Scadding in his *Toronto of Old* gives the following description of this celebrated building:

"Castle Frank itself was an edifice of considerable dimensions, of an oblong shape; its walls were composed of a number of small, carefully hewn logs, of short lengths. The whole wore the hue which unpainted timber, exposed to the weather, gradually assumes. At the gable end, in the direction of the roadway from the nascent capital, was the principal entrance, over which a rather imposing portico was formed by the projection of the whole roof, supported by four upright columns, reaching the whole height of the building and consisting of the trunks of four good-sized, well-matched pines, with their deeply chapped, corrugated bark unremoved. The doors and shutters to the windows were all of double thickness, made of stout plank, running up and down one side, and crosswise on the other, and

thickly studded over with the heads of stout nails. From the middle of the building rose a solitary massive chimney-stack."

Castle Frank was to be a place of great hospitality, and indeed both at Castle Frank and Navy Hall the doors were ever open and all visitors were bountifully received. The Iroquois at Niagara gave Simcoe the title of *Deyonguhokrawen*, which, being interpreted, means, "one whose door is always open." And the Indians were not the only ones to be impressed by the Governor's hospitality. The American commissioners who came to Canada with regard to the boundary difficulty were his guests at Navy Hall, and afterwards spoke with enthusiasm of the reception their ancient enemy gave them. He was, indeed, a veritable knight of the old school.

The most critical question that presented itself during his period of government was the contention that continued between the Indians and the Americans with regard to the Indian territory in the United States. An unwise move on his part might have precipitated a war, but with such diplomacy did he act that he was able to hold comparatively aloof and at the same time keep the respect of his Indian allies. Yet he showed no fear of the Americans and when ordered by Lord Dorchester to proceed to the foot of the Maimi rapids and to erect a fort on the disputed territory he unhesitatingly did so, notwithstanding the clamour that was raised by the Americans with regard to the action on the part of the British. He was careful at all times to protect English interests and to prevent American aggression; however, the danger that had been threatening ever since he came to the country was to come to an end, and by a treaty concluded between England and the United States the former agreed to evacuate the territory in dispute.

Soon after this Simcoe was forced by the needs of the home government to leave Canada. St. Domingo demanded the presence of a strong man and an experienced soldier, and on December 3, 1796, Major-General Simcoe (he had received this rank in 1794) was appointed official governor of that place and commander-in-chief of the army, with the local rank of lieutenant-general. It must have cost him a good deal of pain to leave Upper Canada. His work there was really just begun. Yonge Street had been opened up to

Lake Simcoe, and he no doubt soon hoped to see it completed, and Dundas Street well under way.

Besides this he was creating a "Royal Navy" on the lakes, and already had a number of gunboats on Lake Ontario, and had planned for ten more for that lake and an equal number for Erie; but duty demanded his presence elsewhere, and he went to St. Domingo with the hope of speedily recovering the ground the British troops had lost in that island.

General Simcoe arrived at St. Nicholas Mole at the beginning of March, 1797, and immediately went to work to seek a remedy for the evils he found existing. He made but little headway; the force under his control was altogether inadequate for the situation and he returned to England to secure reinforcements or to abandon the task which had been assigned him. His efforts bore little fruit as Britain at that time had her resources severely taxed by the critical state of affairs in Europe owing to the ambition of the great Napoleon, and could not waste her energies on St. Domingo. That his services in the island were not without appreciation is evident from the fact that in October, 1798, he was made a lieutenant-general in the British army.

In 1801, there was a rumor throughout the British Isles that the French were preparing to invade Great Britain; the country naturally became much excited, and along the coast anxious eyes were turned towards France. Tidings of gigantic preparations being made to invade England were wafted across the channel. Strong men were needed in the sea-port towns and the command of Plymouth was entrusted to General Simcoe.

We hear little more of Simcoe until August, 1806, when the English government learned that the French were about to invade Portugal with an army of thirty thousand men. The authorities thereupon resolved to send an army to the Tagus, and this military force was entrusted to Lord St. Vincent and Lieutenant-General Simcoe. These distinguished officers had full power conjointly with Lord Rosslin to negotiate with the Court of Lisbon. This was to be General Simcoe's last commission. On the voyage to Portugal he was taken seriouly ill and was forced to make a speedy return to England. When the ship that brought him back reached Torbay he was moved to Topham. He had only a few days to live and died on the 25th of October, 1806. He was

still in his prime and his loss to England was a great one. He was a man of unsullied career, and of fine military knowledge and of great daring. Besides these qualities he possessed a diplomacy which made him an excellent ruler; certainly Canada has not had among her makers a nobler or more unselfish man, or one who was to do more for the true development of the country than the first governor of the Province of Upper Canada.

THE BUILDING OF THE "GRIFFIN"

La Salle built this boat and launched it on the lake, near Fort Niagara. It was the first boat to spread sails on Lake Erie.

CHAPTER X.

JOSEPH BRANT.

Famous Indians in Canadian History—Joseph Brant a Celebrated Chief—Little Known of His Early Life—His Father a Mohawk Warrior—His Life Intimately Associated with the Life of Sir William Johnson—Brant's First Military Experience at Crown Point—Serves Under Sir William Johnson at Niagara—The Education of Joseph Brant at Moor Charity School, Lebanon, Connecticut—A Diligent Student—In the Pontiac War—Translates the Gospel of St. Mark and the Anglican Prayer Book into the Mohawk Language—Appointed Chief of the Six Nations—Leaves the Mohawk Valley on Outbreak of Revolutionary War—Visits England—Returns to Canada—At the Battle of the Cedars—His Raids Along the Susquehanna—At the Battle of Oriskany—Campbell Misrepresents Him in His "Gertrude of Wyoming"—A Description of Brant by an American Prisoner—The Mohawk Valley Left Desolate—Brant and His Followers Settle Along the Grand River—A Second Visit to England—An Amusing Incident at a Fancy-Dress Ball—The First Church Erected in Upper Canada—The Indians Dissatisfied—Brant's Words with Regard to the Indian Land Grants—Brant Employed in Negotiations Between the United States and the Indians—A Friend of Governor Simcoe's—Hospitably Entertains Visitors at His Home—His Noble Dying Words—A Mighty Force in Keeping the Indians of Canada Loyal to Great Britain.

COMPARATIVELY few Indians stand out prominently in Canadian and American history. Tribes have come and gone, have roamed through the forest and over the vast western plains, but only at long intervals has a commanding figure arisen to stamp history with his name. Three chieftains, however, figure conspicuously in the history of Canada—Pontiac, Brant and Tecumseh. Of Pontiac, probably the greatest among North American Indians, a savage capable of uniting in a common cause the Indians from the great plains of the west and those dwelling by the rivers of the southern states, there is nothing to be said here as he figured not as a maker of Canada, but as one who sought to destroy English power along the St. Lawrence. Tecumseh, on account of the active part he took in the war of 1812, will be dealt with in a separate study. Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, however, is of more importance to the student of Canadian history than either of the other chieftains mentioned. He was the friend of the English from first to last, and at the most critical time in the history of England's great colony,

Canada, stood by her through evil report and good report and made great sacrifices on England's behalf.

Of the early life of Joseph Brant but little is known; even his birthplace and parentage are uncertain. He was very probably born on the banks of the Ohio river, and his boyhood days were spent in the Mohawk valley. Historians differ as to who was Brant's father, but on the whole it is generally believed that he was the son of the celebrated warrior, Nickus Brant, a full-blooded Mohawk of the Wolf tribe. His father was doubtless a chieftain and Brant from his earliest days could look forward to being a leader among his people. From his boyhood days his life was intimately associated with the life of General William Johnson, who did so much by his bravery, and skill as a general, and his diplomacy in dealing with the Indians to win the west for England during the French wars and who kept the flag of England from being driven from the western country during the Revolutionary war.

When General William Johnson made his celebrated attack on Crown Point in 1755, he had in his force three sons of Nickus Brant, the youngest of these was Joseph, who at that time could not have been over thirteen or fourteen years old. In this fight old Chief Hendrick was slain and his place among the Indians of America was probably taken by Brant's father. As a result of the expedition against Crown Point Johnson was knighted and received from his king the very handsome gift of £5000. Four years later, in 1759, in the final conflict between the French and English for supremacy in North America, Sir William Johnson was to play an important part. Niagara was then in the possession of the French; it was one of the most important and strongly fortified positions in the west and a considerable army was sent against it under General Prideaux. With a force of about 2000 men this distinguished English general left Oswego on July 1. As he journeyed towards the French fort he was joined by Sir William Johnson with some 600 warriors of the Six Nations. Other Indians joined the expedition and by the time Niagara was reached Johnson had under his command a body of probably over one thousand Indians. Young Joseph Brant was one of the most reliable red men in the force. Shortly after they reached Niagara General Prideaux was killed by the premature bursting of a

shell from a Coehorn mortar. The chief command now fell to Sir William Johnson. On July 24 a strong relief party appeared on the scene; it was composed largely of men who had spent the greater part of their lives in hunting, trapping and bush-fighting, but Johnson's Indians were too much for them, and they were defeated with considerable loss and a number of the most celebrated French soldiers in North America were taken prisoners. On the following day, July 25, Pouchot, the commander of Niagara, surrendered to Sir William Johnson.

About this time Sir William seems to have been drawn towards young Brant, and to have picked him out as a more than ordinary specimen of his race. The young warrior, through his intimate association with the distinguished English soldier, had already shown an appreciation of civilized ways and a desire for mental culture. He was in the confidence of Sir William, and was not only being helped by the general, but was used by the general to help other Indian youths towards higher and better things. The following letter to Mr. Wheelock, a missionary and teacher to the Indians shows both Johnson's attitude towards the savages and the esteem in which he held young Brant:

"Fort Johnson, Nov. 17th, 1761.

"Rev. Sir,—Yours of the second instant I had the pleasure of receiving by the hands of Mr. Kirkland. I am pleased to find the lads I sent have merited your good opinion of them. I have given it in charge to Joseph (Brant) to speak in my name to any good boys he may see, and encourage them to accept the generous offer now made them, which he promises to do, and return as soon as possible. I will, on the return of the Indians from hunting, advise them to send as many as is required. I expect they will return, and hope they will make such progress in the English language and their learning as may prove to your satisfaction and the benefit of those, who are really much to be pitied. My absence these four months has prevented my design of encouraging some more lads going to you, and since my return, which is but lately, I have not had an opportunity of seeing old or young, being all on their hunt. When they come back I shall talk with and advise

their parents to embrace this favourable opportunity of having their children instructed, and doubt not of their readiness to lay hold of so kind and charitable an offer.

Mr. Kirkland's intention of learning the Mohawk language I most approve of, as, after acquiring it, he could be of vast service to them as a clergyman, which they much want and are desirous of having.

"The present laudable design of instructing a number of Indian boys will, I doubt not, when more known, lead several gentlemen to contribute towards it, and enable you thereby to increase the number of scholars, with whom I shall not be backward to contribute my mite.

"I wish you all success in this undertaking, and am with truth and sincerity, "Rev. Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"Wm. Johnson."

About the time of the expedition against Niagara the Moor Charity School had been established for the education of young Indians at Lebanon, Connecticut. Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, who was to be the first president of Dartmouth College which grew out of this school, was in charge of the institution. Sir William, who believed that the Indians might be both Christianized and civilized, selected a number of young Mohawks and sent them to Dr. Wheelock's school. The brightest and most earnest among the boys was Joseph Brant. He made rapid progress and showed great aptitude for Latin and Greek, and in 1762, when Rev. Charles Jeffrey Smith, a young man of wealth and enthusiasm, went as a missionary to the Mohawks he selected Brant as his interpreter. Brant was to have a short experience with the missionary, however. At this time the Pontiac war broke out and the young Mohawk, having lost none of his natural desires for the war-path, joined a company against the confederated Indians. According to the Rev. Mr. Kirkland he was most useful in the war and "behaved so much like the Christian and the soldier that he gained great esteem." This was written about 1766 and the writer adds that at that time Brant was living "in a

decent manner and endeavoring to teach his poor brethren the things of God in which his own heart seems much engaged. His house is an asylum for the missionaries in that wilderness."

The efforts of the missionaries to educate Brant were not wasted. He was very helpful to them in their work and did much to elevate the savages with whom he came in contact. After he settled in Canada and was living in retirement there, in the hope of bettering the spiritual condition of the Indians under his control, he translated both the Gospel of St. Mark and the Anglican Prayer Book into the Mohawk language. During the course of his life he was frequently employed by Sir William Johnson in public business that demanded energy, wisdom and a cultivated mind.

So highly was he esteemed by the Indians that, in 1771, when about thirty years old, he became war-chief under the title of Captain Joseph Brant, the highest military distinction known to the Indians. He now ruled over the Six Nations—the Mohawks, the Senecas, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas and the Tuscaroras. These tribes formed a strong confederacy and each one had over them a separate chief, but Brant held supreme command over the united nations.

When the Revolutionary war broke out Colonel Guy Johnson was forced to leave the Mohawk valley. With him went a number of Indians, chief among whom was Brant. They reached Montreal in the summer of 1775 and hoped to organize a sufficient force to regain the Mohawk valley. For some reason the force was never organized; and instead of undertaking a military expedition against the rebels Guy Johnson went on a visit to England and took with him Brant. The chief attracted a good deal of attention in London from all with whom he came in contact. The speech which he delivered before Lord George Germaine setting forth the grievances of the Indians under his chieftainship was widely commented on. In the spring of 1776 he returned to America and landed somewhere in the vicinity of New York. He proceeded to Canada and after many narrow escapes joined the British forces that were in pursuit of the Americans who had given up the hope of capturing Quebec. He was present at the Battle of the Cedars when Major Isaac Butterfield and 390 men surrendered to Captain George Foster.

The greater part of the force opposing the Americans at this time were Indians. They considered they had great grievances against the invading army and were desirous of massacring the men who had fallen into their hands, but Brant opposed such a course and succeeded in saving the prisoners.

In the following year Brant carried the war into the enemy's country along the Susquehanna, and won many Indians to the support of the English cause. General Herkimer of the "Continental" army had an interview with him and endeavored to get him to at least remain neutral, but Brant would not listen to the pleadings of his old friend, and declared that he would remain faithful to his king. For a time his forces were joined with those of General John Butler and Sir John Johnson, and he likewise led 300 warriors in the expedition under General St. Ledger against Fort Stanwix.

Upon one occasion General St. Ledger learned from Molly Brant of the approach of a rebel army under General Herkimer. An ambuscade was formed and the enemy fell into the hands of Captain Brant and his Indians. A thunder storm arose and prevented the destruction of the entire force. This was the celebrated battle of Oriskany, a battle claimed as a victory by both the English and the rebels. In 1778 Brant was once more on the Susquehanna and his name became the terror of the settlers living in that region. He was recognized by his enemies as a powerful warrior who rarely failed in an enterprise and his name was associated with many barbarous deeds of which he was not guilty. American historians have done him grave injustice and the English poet Campbell in his *Gertrude of Wyoming* speaks of him as "the monster Brant," "the accursed Brant" on account of the part he is supposed to have taken in the massacre of Wyoming, but Brant took no part in the massacre and was not even present when it occurred. The truth with regard to Brant is that on the whole he was most humane and on numerous occasions went out of his way to save the lives of prisoners who had fallen into the hands of his savage followers.

On one of his raids he captured, among other prisoners, Captain Jeremiah Snyder who has given us the following interesting description of this renowned Indian: "He was a likely fellow of a fierce aspect, tall

and rather spare, well spoken and apparently about forty years of age. He wore moccasins, elegantly trimmed with beads—leggings and breech-cloth of superfine blue—short green coat, with two silver epaulets, and a small, laced, round hat. By his side hung an elegant silver-mounted cutlass, and his blanket of blue cloth, purposely dropped on the chair in which he sat, to display his epaulets, was gorgeously decorated with border of red."

Until the end of the Revolutionary war Brant played a conspicuous part in the border raids to the north and west of Albany, and when the treaty of peace with the United States was signed in 1783, he found himself without a home. The appearance of the Mohawk valley was that of "a widespread, heart-sickening and universal desolation." When the war terminated the Mohawks had a temporary resting-place where Lewiston now stands on the American side of the Niagara river. The Senecas offered them lands in their country, but Brant and the Mohawks "were determined to sink or swim with the English." The Chieftain proceeded to Quebec and secured a tract of land on the Bay of Quinte, but this was unsatisfactory to the tribe, and the Grand River was finally chosen for the home of the Mohawks and others of the Six Nations in Canada. In order to have his people settled to the best advantage, Brant decided to visit England, and arrived in London in December, 1785. He was received with even greater enthusiasm than on his first visit, and, on account of the important part he had taken in the Revolutionary war, was entertained by those in authority and introduced to the king.

Indians, as a rule, are lacking in a sense of humor, but on one occasion Brant showed himself capable of appreciating a practical joke. He was at a fancy-dress ball, but unlike the other guests, was without a mask. He went in his dress as a chieftain and warrior, painted, his plumes nodding in his head-dress and his tomahawk at his belt. Another of the guests, struck with his appearance, in a playful manner reached forth his hand and took hold of the nose of what he doubtless thought to be a mask. Brant saw the fun of the situation, seized his tomahawk and, brandishing it over the head of the individual who had taken such a liberty with his person, sent forth a blood-curdling war-whoop, such as was never heard before or since in an

English ball-room. It is said that many of the guests left the room in fright, but when the matter was explained they returned, and the evening proved all the more enjoyable for this extraordinary incident.

When Brant returned to Canada from England in 1786, he at once began to put forth strenuous efforts to build up a prosperous nation on the banks of the Grand River. He had led his warriors successfully in battle, and he was now anxious in time of peace to civilize them. To this end he had a church erected,—the first church built in the Province of Upper Canada. Difficulties soon arose between the Indians and the government with regard to the disposal of the Indian lands. These lands they could hold and use, but could not deed them away without the consent of the government—a very wise condition, as time has proved. This Brant looked upon as an injustice, and while he remained the strong friend of the English, stood by the Indians in their contention with regard to their rights over the soil. A proclamation was issued forbidding the sale or leasing of their lands by the Indians, and Brant, with other chiefs and warriors, met at Niagara to plead with the government for justice. The speech which he delivered on that occasion shows how strongly he felt with regard to the matter, and at the same time how loyal he was to England.

"In the year 1775," said he, "Lord Dorchester, then Sir Guy Carleton at a numerous council, gave us every encouragement, and requested us to assist in defending their country, and to take active part in defending His Majesty's possessions, stating that when the happy day of peace should arrive, and should we not prove successful in the contest, that he would put us on the same footing on which we stood previous to joining him. This flattering promise was pleasing to us, and gave us spirit to embark heartily in His Majesty's cause. We took it for granted that the word of so great a man, or any promise of a public nature, would ever be held sacred. We were promised our lands for our services, and these lands we were to hold on the same footing with those we fled from at the commencement of the American war, when we joined, fought and bled in your cause. Now is published a proclamation forbidding us leasing those very lands that were positively given us in lieu of those of which we were the sovereigns of the soil. Of those lands we have

forsaken, we sold, leased, and we gave away, when and as often as we saw fit, without hindrance on the part of your government, for your government well knew we were the lawful sovereigns of the soil, and they had no right to interfere with us as independent nations."

Difficulties arose between the Indians and the government of the United States with regard to the boundaries of the Indian lands. In this dispute Brant and his Mohawks took no part, although during the years 1791 and 1792 Brant was employed as a neutral in negotiating between the disputants. He visited Philadelphia in 1792 and was given a cordial welcome by the President of the United States, and made a deep impression on many of the leading men in the young republic.

When Colonel Simcoe was appointed Governor of Upper Canada he visited Brant and was much impressed with this noble red man, and during the entire time of his sojourn in Canada a close friendship existed between the two.

But Brant was to see no more active service. The rest of his life was to be spent quietly in his Mohawk village, ruling his people with a firm but kindly hand. His house was ever open to visitors and any who sojourned with him were deeply impressed with his lavish hospitality and his dignified deportment. He ever had the interests of his Indians at heart, and when, on a bleak November day in 1807, he died, those near his bedside heard him mutter with his dying breath "Have pity upon the poor Indians; if you can get any influence with the great, endeavor to do them all the good you can."

He had during his life done them much good, and that for over a hundred years the Indians in the community he established have remained peaceful, law-abiding subjects of Great Britain has been largely due to the influence which lived on after his death. That his services have been appreciated is shown by the magnificent monument to his memory that stands in the heart of the thriving city of Brantford.

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL ISAAC BROCK.

Brock one of the World's Military Heroes—First sees Active Service in Holland—With Nelson before Copenhagen—Comes to Canada in 1802—Believes War between United States and Great Britain Inevitable—Made a Brigadier-General in 1808—Sent to the Province of Upper Canada—War Declared—Brigadier-General Hull Marches into Canada —Brock Ready to Meet Him—Tecumseh an Ally of the British—Hull Withdraws His Men to Detroit—Brock Resolves to Attack Detroit—Hull's Ignominious Surrender—Brock Fears for the Safety of the Niagara Frontier—An Armistice Agreed Upon—Brigadier-General Van Rensselær Hopes to Capture Queenston Heights—Efforts to Cross to the Canadian Shore—A Battle in Progress—Brock Gallops to the Scene of Conflict—The Death of Brock—The Gallant Stand of the Americans—A Glorious Victory for the Canadian Soldiers—On the Day of His Death Brock Created a Knight for His Victory at Detroit—The Americans at Fort Niagara Give their Tribute of Mourning to the Gallant Dead.

IN the year 1769 three of the world's military heroes were born, Napoleon, Wellington and our own Brock. The last named, from his earliest years, had set his heart on a military career, and began his life's work as an ensign at the age of sixteen. In a little more than seven years his noble character and sterling intellect had advanced him to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of the 49th, a regiment with which he was to be identified till the day of his death.

He first saw active service in Holland, where, at the battle of Egmont op-Zee, he acquitted himself with great courage, and where he narrowly escaped death. He was with Nelson, too, in the Baltic, and proved himself both a wise soldier and careful commander at Copenhagen.

But his career began in earnest when his regiment was ordered to Canada in 1802. After three years service in this country he was made a colonel, and returned to England on leave of absence to visit his friends. But his heart was in Canada and his stay in the Old World was to be cut short.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K. D.

THE EARL OF DURHAM, G.C.B.

From his arrival in this country he felt that sooner or later the Americans and British would come to blows, and while he was in England news came across the waters that made him tremble for his adopted home. Without delay he sailed for Canada, and on his arrival began to make the defences as secure as possible. Darker and darker grew the war cloud, and fearing that in case of an invasion the Americans would make Quebec their first point of attack he had it strengthened by every means in his power.

Brock grew in popularity both in Canada and in England. He was the idol of his men and he was deemed such a worthy commander that in 1808 he was made a brigadier-general. In 1810 he was sent to the Upper Province, and established himself at Fort George on the Niagara frontier. This district was in such close proximity to the United States that an invasion was to be expected here, and Brock carefully examined the whole frontier, studying the country and making preparations for the struggle that must take place.

In the year after his arrival in the Upper Province, Francis Gore, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, went to England, and General Brock was left in entire control of the Province, being first both in civil and military affairs.

On the 18th of June, 1812, the long anticipated war was declared, and seven days later Brock received word of it at Fort George. He at once saw to the defences of the entire West, visiting in person every important point from Niagara to Detroit. The eastern frontier, with Kingston as its chief point, was in equally imminent danger and this district he placed under the command of an able officer, Major-General Shaw.

The blow was not long in falling. On the 12th of July, Brigadier-General Hull marched into Canada with a strong force, and issued a proclamation threatening dire vengeance to all who dared resist his progress, and promising peace and plenty to those who would aid him. Brock was not in the least alarmed, and replied to his arrogant threats that England was ready, not only to defend, but to avenge all her subjects, whether red or white. And the Province was prepared to aid him in making good his reply. No sooner was the invasion known than men from all districts rushed to his

standard, and he soon had more soldiers than he could supply with arms, and hundreds had to return disappointed to their homes.

Hull had not the success he expected. The Canadians held aloof from him, and he soon found himself in a foreign country with a large body of troops, and without means of providing food for them, except by carrying it long distances. He sent letters by Major Van Horne to the American headquarters, in which he stated his difficulties, and added further that his army was in a demoralized condition. Proctor was in command at Amherstburg, and hearing of Van Horne's mission, sent out Tecumseh, a brave Shawnee chief, to intercept him. Tecumseh was successful, and captured not only a large amount of spoil, but the very important letters that had been intrusted to Van Horne. When news of this disaster reached Hull, he became alarmed for his own safety on Canadian soil, and on the 7th and 8th of August withdrew his men to Detroit, after having wasted a month.

All this time Brock had been busy making hurried preparations at York (Toronto). On the 6th of August all was ready, and he set out for Burlington Bay. After a severe and fatiguing journey by day and night, across a rugged country, and in boats that offered no shelter from the weather, he drew up his squadron of a little over three hundred men at Amherstburg on the night of August 13th. Here he received the correspondence Tecumseh had captured, and, when he learned of the weak state of the American force, he determined to strike a quick, sure blow.

Hull was at Detroit, and, although the fort was a strong one, Brock hoped to take it by a prompt assault. He sent Tecumseh with six hundred warriors across the river, and that wily Indian placed his men so as to cut off all communication with the fort. The night after the successful passage of Tecumseh's forces was a dark one, and, under cover of the darkness, the Canadian boats plied across the river. At the first grey of morning three hundred and thirty regulars and four hundred militia who made up in eagerness what they lacked in experience were drawn up at Springwell, four miles below Detroit. Brock summoned Hull to surrender. The American general took two hours to deliberate and then sent back a refusal. Without

delay the Canadians advanced; they were confident of success and eager for a fight. The main body while it advanced was ably supported by Tecumseh's braves on the left flank, and by a small vessel of war, the "Queen Charlotte," on the right.

The untried York Volunteers were thrown forward as a skirmishing party, and so vigorously and bravely did they do their work that the Americans hurriedly abandoned a strong outpost, and retreated to the fort, leaving behind them two twenty-four pounders. They brought such an exaggerated report of the numbers of the enemy, that, just when Brock had his men in readiness for an assault, Hull sent out an officer with a flag of truce, and surrendered without a struggle. Detroit was won, and with it was given up the whole of Michigan Territory, a ship of war, thirty-three pieces of cannon, abundant stores, one stand of colors, a military chest, and a large body of troops. News of the victory soon spread through Canada; Brock's name was on every lip, and all felt that the country was safe while it had such a brave and dashing commander to lead its hardy sons to battle.

Although victorious at Detroit Brock had great misgivings for the safety of the Niagara frontier. Brigadier-General Van Rensselaer was stationed there with a strong force, and prompt action was, in Brock's mind, the only thing that could save Canada at that point. But an armistice was agreed on between the foes, and Brock had to go to Niagara, and remain there deploring the inactivity that only gave his enemies a chance to concentrate their forces and get in supplies. But the armistice was of short duration, and early in October the two peoples were at war once more.

A spy who had ventured into the British camp brought to Van Rensselaer the false information that Brock had left Niagara for Detroit. The American general knew the spirit of the man opposing him, and hoped in his absence to take the strong position known as Queenston Heights. This spot, one of the most picturesque in Canada, is a noble plateau rising two hundred and fifty feet above the Niagara River. It is to the West what Quebec is to the East of Canada; a natural fortress that a few brave men might defend against an army. But Van Rensselaer had a strong force and did not hesitate to attempt its capture.

On the 11th of October he made an effort to cross to the Canadian shore, but utterly failed. Two days were spent in preparations and by the 13th all was ready. Early in the morning, before the autumn sun had risen to glorify the gorgeous foliage of the maples, the thunder of cannon was heard. General Van Rensselaer at the head of a few brave men was attempting the passage. Two companies of the 49th, and two hundred soldiers of the York Militia were energetically opposing them. An eighteen pounder, on a place of vantage on the cliff swept the river with a deadly fire; but the Americans protected their men by a strong battery of four pieces, and the first detachment was soon across with but few casualties. Busily the boats plied, and before long thirteen hundred men were drawn up in order of battle. It was to be a fight to the death. General Van Rensselaer was no coward, and though wounded in four places cheered his men on to the conflict.

Brock was at Fort George. He had been expecting an attack, and when at daybreak he was aroused by the roar of cannon, he knew that his troops at Queenston Heights were in danger. In a few minutes he was in the saddle, and galloping furiously to the battle-field. He did not check his horse until he reached the eighteen-pounder battery that had been placed to sweep the river but which was now useless, since the Americans had crossed. Here he dismounted and swept the field with a general's eye. Suddenly the rattle of musketry above him told that the enemy had gained the height, and he and his staff were compelled to desert their position.

Captain Wool and a number of American soldiers had scrambled up a fisherman's path and had won a position one hundred and eighty feet above the river. Lustily they cheered as the Canadians deserted the gun, and calmly they awaited Williams of the 49th, who came against them with one hundred men. These soldiers were compelled to retire with great loss, but they were joined by others, and rushed again to the battle, driving the Americans to the edge of the precipice. The position was a trying one, and some of the soldiers attempted to raise a white flag but Wool tore it down in great anger and urged his men on to the fight. Brock was now at the head of a strong party, and as he gallantly rushed up the height shouting "Push

on the brave York volunteers," a ball struck him in the breast and he fell. Unmindful of himself, thinking only of his adopted country, he begged, with his dying breath, that his death should be kept from his men.

On pushed the volunteers under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell, but this noble fellow, too, received a mortal wound and the Canadians had to retire to await reinforcement; but not before the Americans had lost many brave soldiers, and so crippled were they that unless help came from the opposite shore they must either surrender or plunge into the river below.

General Sheaffe, in command at Fort George, was rapidly speeding to the fight with three hundred regulars, two companies of militia, and a few Indians. On his way he was reinforced by a number of others, and about noon he reached the Heights with eight hundred men.

The Americans were now encircled by a strong force, determined to avenge their fallen commander, and by the Niagara. Their friends offered them no assistance, and as the Canadians came to the final charge they awaited their fate like Spartans. The men were commanded to hold their fire until the enemy were within forty yards. Soldiers were stationed in the rear of the troops to shoot down any man who fired before the word was given. Steadily the foe advanced, and calmly the Americans awaited them; when they were almost upon them a deadly, telling fire swept the hill. But there was no stopping the rush and in a few minutes the Heights were won. Some surrendered; the hill was strewn with dead and dying and many brave fellows who would not yield cast themselves into the stream, and in their effort to escape perished in the ruthless waters.

The victory was a noble one, but Canada wept over it. Her heroic Brock was no more, and she deemed the battle dearly bought. England, too, had recognized his worth, and on the very day of his death the guns of the Tower of London roared forth rejoicingly over his victory at Detroit, and his sovereign made him a Knight of the Order of the Bath. Even his foes had learned to respect their brave enemy, and, on the day of his funeral, the commander of Fort Niagara hoisted his flag at half-mast, and fired minute guns, shot for shot, with the Canadian mourners.

CHAPTER XII.

TECUMSEH

Tecumseh a Bitter Enemy of the United States—Elskwatawa, a Brother of Tecumseh's, announces Himself a Prophet—Tecumseh Aims at Forming a Mighty Indian Confederacy—His Speech to His Red Brethren—General Harrison Defeats Tecumseh's Indians at Tippecanoe—Tecumseh Joins the British in the War 1812—Proves Himself an able Leader under Brock—Favorably Impresses the General and His Staff—Captain Glegg's Pen-Picture of Tecumseh—Brock Confides His Plans of Attack on Detroit to Tecumseh—The Great Indian Warrior Draws a Map of the Country About Detroit—Humane to The Prisoners who Fell into His Hands—An Incident Showing the Generosity of Tecumseh—A Chief Mourner on the Death of Brock—The British Meet With Reverses—Proctor Retreats to Moraviantown—Determines to Give Battle to the Americans—Tecumseh on the Day of Battle—The Wretched Generalship of Proctor—Flees to Burlington Heights—The Death of Tecumseh.

TECUMSEH, the friend of the British, was born about the same year as Brock, and was a member of the Shawnee tribe, living in the valley of the Miami, in Ohio. The Americans had for years been encroaching on the Indian lands, and from his youth Tecumseh endeavored to put a stop to their inroads. Before his twenty-fifth year he had several times faced the "long knives," as he called the American soldiers, and had proved himself a valiant foe. In 1794 the Indians suffered a severe defeat, and were compelled to surrender a large portion of their territory. This made Tecumseh an even bitterer enemy of the Americans than he already was, and, with a vigor and intelligence not often seen in a savage, he endeavored to form a league among the Indians to compel the white men to surrender the land already seized, and to keep them from advancing farther west.

In 1804 his brother, Elskwatawa, announced himself a prophet, and warned his red brethren that if they wished to regain their old power they must lead the life of their fathers who inhabited this continent before the whites appeared among them; that they must cast away their woollen garments, and clothe themselves in skins; and that they must entirely give up the use of ardent spirits.

The fame of this prophet soon spread through the Indian villages and a vast concourse of savages came to dwell near one who was believed not only to be sent by the Great Spirit, but who, it was held, had the power of working miracles.

It is difficult to tell whether Tecumseh believed in his brother's supernatural powers, but at any rate he used the belief of others to unite all in his confederacy. The authorities, becoming alarmed, ordered Tecumseh and his brother to change their homes, and they removed to the Wabash, where the work of uniting the people went on.

A brief extract from a speech delivered by Tecumseh before a large assemblage of braves will give some idea of the character of the man and his aims.

"Brothers,—We are friends; we must assist each other to bear our burdens. The blood of many of our fathers and brothers has run like water on the ground, to satisfy the avarice of the white men. We ourselves are threatened with a great evil; nothing will pacify them but the destruction of all the red men.

"Brothers,—We must be united; we must smoke the same pipe; we must fight each other's battles; and more than all, we must love the Great Spirit; he is for us; he will destroy our enemies, and make all his red children happy."

In 1811 the Americans under General Harrison met Tecumseh's Indians at Tippecanoe in the absence of their chief, and utterly defeated them. This defeat rankled in the breast of Tecumseh, and, when, in the following year, war was declared between the United States and Britain, he was one of the first to rush to the British standard; with him went an immense following, ready to fight to the death against their lifelong enemies.

Tecumseh was soon to see active service. General Brock was unable to proceed to the scene of action at once, and so dispatched Colonel Proctor with a number of men to take command at Amherstburg. Proctor, wishing to strike the enemy a blow, sent across to Brownstown—a village twenty-five miles from Detroit—a part of the Forty-First Regiment and a number of Indians under Tecumseh. Major Van Horne was known to be on his way from

Detroit with important papers, and Tecumseh and seventy of his braves lay in ambush hoping to take him prisoner. When the Americans reached their place of hiding the Indians suddenly sprang upon them, and in the short battle that followed the troops were completely routed. Many of them were killed and the important dispatches were seized by Tecumseh. In a few days Hull, in command at Detroit, sent a strong force against the foe at Brownstown, and compelled them to retreat to their own side of the river.

On the 13th of August Brock reached Amherstburg, and the Indians, learning that so brave a soldier had arrived, began firing their guns to show their joy. But powder was scarce, and Brock, anxious to save it, sent for their chief,—for whom he ever after had the greatest admiration. Tecumseh came, and after a short conversation with Brock saw that the firing ceased.

The chief made such an impression on the General and his staff that one of the aides-de-camp, Captain Glegg, has given us a faithful pen-picture of him.

"Tecumseh's appearance was very prepossessing; his figure, light and finely proportioned; his age I imagine to be about five and thirty; in height five feet, nine or ten inches; his complexion, light copper; countenance, oval with bright hazel eyes, beaming cheerfulness, energy and decision. Three small silver crowns, or coronets, were suspended from the lower cartilage of his aquiline nose; and a large silver medallion of George the Third, which I believe his ancestor had received from Lord Dorchester, when Governor-General of Canada, was attached to a mixed colored wampum string, that hung round his neck. His dress consisted of a plain neat uniform, tanned deer-skin jacket, long trowsers of the same material, the seams of both being covered with neatly cut fringe; and he had on his feet leather moccasins, much ornamented with work made from the dyed quills of the porcupine."

On the following day Brock called a council at which about one thousand Indians were present. Brock spoke lovingly to the red men, and told them that their great father over the ocean had sent him to aid them in their fight against the "long knives"; he finished his speech by saying that he soon hoped to drive Hull from Detroit. His speech was joyfully received by the warriors, and with one voice they called upon Tecumseh as a fitting brave to

reply to so noted a leader as the English general. Tecumseh replied with suitable words, and closed an eloquent speech by saying that all present were ready "to shed their last drop of blood in their great father's service." Other speeches were made by noted chiefs, and all only reiterated the words of their leader. Brock was so deeply impressed by Tecumseh's wisdom that he determined to take him into his confidence, and after the council was ended he led him apart with several other chiefs, and told them of a proposed plan to attack Detroit at once.

Nothing could have pleased Tecumseh better. In Detroit were the 4th U. S. Infantry, a part of the troops which had laid his village waste and slaughtered his braves at Tippecanoe.

Brock asked the chief if he could give him a description of the country about Detroit. Without a moment's hesitation Tecumseh took a piece of birch bark, spread it on the ground, placed a stone on each corner to keep it in position, and with a scalping-knife sketched upon it an accurate plan of the district, locating hills, woods, rivers, roads and morasses with the skill of a trained military engineer. Brock was delighted, and deemed that the best course would be to send Tecumseh and his warriors across the river to take up a position in the woods before sending over his regulars and militia. After the capture of the fort Brock feared that the Indians might fall upon the Americans and slaughter them, but to a hint of the kind Tecumseh replied, with great haughtiness, "I despise them too much to meddle with them." All through the war he seemed to have not only a restraining hand upon his own tomahawk and scalping-knife, but to have been able to hold in check his fellow-warriors when prisoners fell into their hands.

The British leader was so pleased with the conduct of the brave Shawnee at the capture of Detroit that he took off his silken scarf, and wound it round the body of his red friend. On the following day Tecumseh was seen without it. Brock wondered at this as the chief had expressed, in his stoical way, great pleasure at the honor his general conferred upon him,—and, on inquiring, learned that he had given it to Round-head, a Wyandot chief, who, he claimed, was an elder and abler warrior than himself.

All through this year he fought bravely, and when Brock fell at Queenston Heights, he had no sincerer mourner than the chief who had learned to love him as a worthy brother warrior. After the general's death he lost some of the enthusiastic hope he had had in British arms, but he still fought on, never once playing the coward's part; and, when the war was waged with increased vigor in 1813, no hero stands out more prominently than this noble red man.

In this year the British met with severe reverses, and Proctor in command at Detroit, was compelled to desert that stronghold and fall back upon Canadian soil. Tecumseh was with him, and with a heavy heart joined in the flight until an Indian village, known as Moraviantown, was reached. Here they received intelligence that the enemy was rapidly coming down upon them. Proctor had retreated hastily and with great lack of forethought. The very bridges he crossed were left standing, and his worn-out troops were no match on the march for the lightly-armed Kentucky riflemen that served under General Harrison.

The Americans greatly outnumbered the Canadians, but Proctor determined to make a stand on the banks of the Thames, and give them battle. His men were drawn up in a favorable position; on the left flank was the Thames, on the right an impassable cedar swamp. From the river to the swamp the distance was in all about five hundred yards, and in the centre of this space Proctor planted the only gun—a six-pounder—that he had managed to bring with him. Tecumseh and his warriors were posted in the swamp, where the mounted infantry of the Americans could not advance, and where their trusty rifles might work havoc among the foe. When all was ready Tecumseh took leave of Proctor with the encouraging words, "Father! have a big heart!" and joined his warriors to await the signal to begin the fight, which was to be the firing of the gun.

Never did warrior present a more heroic picture. His every movement bespoke the soldier, and as he joined his braves all eyes turned trustingly to the commander who, for two years, had led them through so many hard fought fights. This day was an important one for him, and while the British officers donned their uniforms bedecked with gold and silver lace he rolled

his handkerchief in the form of a turban, and as a mark of his rank stuck in it a white ostrich feather that nodded royally in the breeze as he passed along the British line.

Proctor seems to have acted with great negligence. He awaited the foe without making any effort to entrench or protect his men by barricades. There were abundant trees about him, and the two hours that elapsed before the battle, would have given his troops ample time to erect a protecting barrier.

Stealthily the enemy advanced, sheltering themselves by the trees growing along the river bank, till almost on the British line and then charged with great dash. They were met by a bold resistance, but the British outnumbered, and exhausted by their trying march, gave way before the impetuous charge, and the gun was soon in the hands of the Americans. Proctor saw that all was lost, and left the field in headlong flight, nor did he stop until he was safe at Burlington Heights.

While the right division of the foe had been sweeping everything in the open before them, the left division under Colonel Johnson were meeting worthy foes in the swamp. They saw that their only hope of success was to draw the Indians from their strong position and twenty brave fellows with their Colonel advanced into the very "jaws of death." Johnson alone lived to return to his soldiers. Tecumseh and his braves, overjoyed at this first success, rushed boldly to the battle and fought with dauntless courage. Victory seemed to be crowning their efforts, and the foe was slowly but surely giving ground. Johnson, the commander, was wounded in four places, and as he reeled in the saddle from loss of blood, Tecumseh dashed through his followers and endeavored to strike him down with his tomahawk. The American leader's pistol was in his hand and as the blow was about to descend he pointed it at Tecumseh, pulled the trigger, and the noblest of the red men fell dead, with four buck shots and a bullet in his breast.

The Indians, led by Tecumseh's son, a boy of seventeen, who was at his father's side when he fell, fought on bravely, but were at last compelled to surrender, and the entire field was in the hands of their foes.

CHAPTER XIII.

THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON.

By F. Blake Crofton.

Birth and Parentage of Haliburton—His Education—Called to the Bar—In the Nova Scotia House of Assembly—Censured by the Assembly—Succeeds his Father as Judge—His Windsor Home—Takes up his Residence in England—Receives the Degree of D.C.L. from Oxford University—Represents Launceston in the Imperial House of Commons—Not a Brilliant Parliamentarian—His Literary Work—His Influence on Longfellow's picture of the Acadian Expulsion—Contributes to "Fraser's Magazine"—Haliburton a Lover of Fun—Conservative in his Ideas and Instincts—Yearns for a Fuller Imperial Citizenship for the Colonies—"Sam Slick" a Brilliant Piece of Humor—Artemus Ward Terms Haliburton the Founder of the American School of Humor—General Summing up of his Achievements.

THOMAS Chandler Haliburton, until recently the most noted writer born in British North America, was the son of William Hersey Otis Haliburton, Chief Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, as his office was ponderously styled, and of Lucy, daughter of Major Alexander Grant, one of Wolfe's officers. He was born in Windsor, N. S., on the 17th of December, 1796. He was educated in his native town at the Grammar School, and subsequently at King's College, graduating (B. A.) in 1815. In 1820 he was called to the Bar, and practised his profession for some years in Annapolis, which he represented in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly from 1826 to 1829. One of the most notable incidents of his career in the Provincial Legislature was his warm, eloquent and successful pleading in 1827 for the abolition of the test oath, containing a declaration against transubstantiation which debarred devout Catholics from holding public office. His persistent efforts to obtain a grant for Pictou Academy, which was more than once voted by the House of Assembly and thrown out by the Council, led to his characterizing the latter body in a newspaper as "twelve dignified, deep-read, pensioned old ladies, but filled with prejudices and whims like all other antiquated spinsters." For this the Council demanded

an apology from the House, which was at first refused; but, on the Council's more peremptorily repeating its demand, the House passed a resolution of censure, which is thus recorded in its journals, April 4, 1827:

"Thomas C. Haliburton, Esq., one of the members for the County of Annapolis, being called upon and having admitted that he did in this House speak the words complained of by His Majesty's Council, and afterwards published the same:

"Resolved, therefore, unanimously: That the House do consider the conduct of the said Thomas C. Haliburton on that occasion as highly reprehensible, and that Mr. Speaker do pass the censure of this House upon the said Thomas C. Haliburton by publicly reprimanding him therefore at the Bar of this House."

Haliburton duly appeared at the Bar and received the reprimand. But he felt the snub so much, or thought the back-down of the House so disheartening, that he finally abandoned his efforts on behalf of the Pictou Academy and by so doing provoked much bitter criticism, which has not ended with his life. This apparent desertion of a cause which he had so vigorously championed was doubtless one of the reasons which led the government to resist his claim for a pension, until, some years after his retirement from the Bench, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided in his favor. In 1829 he succeeded to his father's judgeship and soon after removed to Windsor, N. S., where he occupied a pretty villa named "Clifton," whose grounds adjoined those of King's College. In 1841 he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court. He retired from the Bench in 1856 and took up his residence in England, intending to devote himself exclusively to literature. The University of Oxford gave him the honorary degree of D. C. L. in 1858, and he was elected a member of the Athenæum Club.

From 1859 to 1865 he represented Launceston in the Imperial House of Commons. In Parliament Haliburton acted as the representative rather of British North America than of his English constituency, and he several times combated the then disposition of many statesmen to get rid of the Colonies. But he did not make the mark in the House which the admirers of his

writings expected. The truth is that, even in his prime, his ordinary speeches were little above the average, though parts of his set orations were powerful and impressive in the extreme. But none of his best speeches were made in the House of Commons. In 1859, when he was elected for Launceston, he was over sixty-two years old—an age at which most eminent men, having regard to their reputation only, would be wise to rest upon their laurels. And Haliburton had been too self-indulgent a liver to be exceptionally vigorous at the beginning of his old age. Besides, by this time, his success had probably made him too self-complacent to think it needful to give much thought or labor to his speeches. His tendency to wander from the subject had increased. Commenting on a speech of his made in Committee of Ways and Means, April 25, 1861, Mr. Bernal Osborne observed that he had "touched upon nearly every topic except the issue which is immediately under our consideration. The honorable and learned gentleman is a man famous for his literary ability," continued Mr. Osborne, "and as the author of works of fiction which are universally read; but I must say that, after the exhibition which he has made to-night, he had, in my opinion, better undertake another edition of *The Rambler*."

Haliburton's last years were spent in Gordon House, Isleworth, a beautiful and historic villa on the Thames, a mile or two from Richmond. There he died on the 27th of August, 1865, and was buried in the neighboring churchyard.*

The four books by Haliburton which narrate the sayings and doings of the celebrated Samuel Slick, of Slickville, are, in their chronological order: *The Clockmaker*, *The Attaché*, *Wise Saws*, and *Nature* and *Human Nature*. Two others, *The Letter Bag of the Great Western* and *The Bubbles of Canada*, are expressly attributed to Mr. Slick as their author, as may be gathered from the last letter in the former and from the dedication of the latter work; and

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* Haliburton married (1) Louisa, daughter of Captain Neville, late 19th Light Dragoons, and (2) Sarah Harriet daughter of W. M. Owen, Esq. (of Woodhouse, Shropshire), and widow of E. H. Williams, Esq (of Eaton Mascott, Shrewsbury). He left no issue by his second wife. His children, besides two or three who died young, were Robert Grant Haliburton, Q.C., the litterateur; Sir Arthur L., created Lord Haliburton of Windsor, N. S., for some years Permanent Under-Secretary for War; Susan, married to the late Judge Weldon of New Brunswick; Augusta, married to a cousin; Laura, married to William Cunard; Emma, married to Reverend Bainbridge Smith; Amelia, married to Very Reverend Edwin Gilpin, Dean of Nova Scotia.

publishers have placed the name of Sam Slick on the covers of *The Old Judge*, *The Season Ticket*, *American Humor*, and *Americans at Home*.

The first series of *The Clockmaker*, which appeared first in the *Nova Scotian* in 1835 and 1836, was published in book form in Halifax and London in 1837. The second series was issued in 1838; the third in 1840. In most later editions the three series make one volume. The cute dodges of the Clockmaker in pushing his trade are said to have been reminiscences of suits tried by Haliburton, and brought by an itinerant vendor of clocks for the payment of notes given him for his time pieces. In the first chapter of *The Attaché* its ostensible writer speaks of *The Clockmaker* as an accidental hit, a success which he did not purpose to imperil by experimenting in other literary lines. "When Sam Slick," he says, "ceases to speak, I shall cease to write." But Haliburton's self-confidence grew with his fame, and he failed to keep this modest resolution. *The Attaché*, the two series of which appeared respectively in 1843 and 1844, was probably suggested by Dickens' *American Notes*, which had been published early in 1842. After deprecating Slick's lively indignation at the latter book, "The Squire" observes, in *The Attaché*: "If the English have been amused by the sketches *their* tourists have drawn of the Yankees, perhaps the Americans may laugh at *our* sketches of the English." The sub-title of this book, "Sam Slick in England," has been made the only title in some editions. This last remark may be made also of *Wise Saws and Modern Instances*, which has been given to the public, at least once, under its second title of "Sam Slick in Search of a Wife." The first edition of *Wise Saws* was published in London in 1853, and its continuation, *Nature and Human Nature*, which followed in 1855, concluded the record of the sayings and doings of the redoubtable Sam Slick.

Haliburton's first work was his *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, published in Halifax in 1829, for which he received a vote of thanks from the House of Assembly. There is now no doubt that the author's History tinctured Longfellow's picture of the Acadian expulsion. "The poet," says his brother and biographer, "read such books as were obtainable; Haliburton, for instance, with his quotations from the Abbé Raynal." But may not the publication of Haliburton's History have been a link in the

chain of incidents that led to the *inception* of *Evangeline*? The tale of the separated Acadian lovers, it is well known, was told to Longfellow by Hawthorne, who had heard it from his friend, the Rev. H. L. Conolly, at one time Rector of a church in South Boston. "The incident had been related to him by a parishioner of his, Mrs. Haliburton," writes the Rev. Samuel Longfellow. This lady was Mrs. George Haliburton, an aunt by marriage of the author. Is it not likely that her attention was first drawn to the Acadians by the touching description of their virtues and their woes in the History written by her nephew? Pathetic separations of kinsfolk are dwelt upon in Haliburton's chapter on the expulsion, particularly in the "humble petition" from the Acadian exiles in Pennsylvania.

Our author's second historical work was *The Bubbles of Canada*, a series of letters on the Imperial Colonial policy, published in 1837, while his third and last was *Rule and Misrule of the English in America*, which appeared in 1851. *The Letter-Bag of the Great Western, or Life in a Steamer*, first published in 1839, is a collection of letters supposed to be written by various passengers from England to America in the famous steamship of that name. These letters contain, not only comments upon life at sea, but the writers' reflections on the country they are leaving, or the country they are going to—a plan which enables the author to present us with some lively studies in his favorite subject, human nature.

In 1846 and 1847 Haliburton contributed to *Frazer's Magazine* a series of papers, which in 1849 were collected in the book entitled *The Old Judge, or Life in a Colony*. This work depicts various phases of life in Acadia in the earlier part of this century. As in the "Sam Slick" series, the plot is a mere thread on which to string facts, jests and opinions. The Old Judge's opinions, by the way, seem to march pretty closely with Haliburton's own. *Traits of American Humor* and *Americans at Home* (also published under the title of *Yankee Stories*) are merely collections of tales, mirthful or marvellous, edited by Haliburton, but culled from American books and periodicals.

His latest work was *The Season Ticket*, a series of miscellaneous notes made and conversations reported by Mr. Shegog, the holder of a season ticket

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on an English railway. The papers which comprise this work were first published anonymously in the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1858 and 1859. *The Season Ticket* shows that Haliburton's Conservative and Imperialistic views, and his opinions of the resources and needs of Nova Scotia and Canada were not materially changed in his old age. In this book, too, we may be sure that the author expresses himself absolutely without fear or favor, for it was evidently designed to remain anonymous. Otherwise he would hardly have been bold enough to make a gentleman (p. 123) group him with Dickens and Thackeray.

Haliburton loved fun and showed his love of it even on the Bench. His tastes and instincts were both conservative and aristocratic. He disliked innovations unless they were unquestionable improvements. He disapproved of voting by ballot and of universal suffrage. To the latter he makes Mr. Hopewell trace the repudiation of their debts by certain States of the Union. In his historical works he even opposed the granting of responsible government to the colonies. He held that the tyranny of mobs and majorities may be quite as bad and unbearable as that of despots.

Politics, thought Haliburton, is a poor and over-crowded business, especially in the colonies. He lamented that his countrymen devoted too much attention to this petty game, and he exhausted his stores of epigram and ridicule to open their eyes to the fact.

Space forbids an adequate account of his famous criticisms, chiefly by the mouth of "Sam Slick," upon the remediable weaknesses of Nova Scotians. He found many of them surrounded by industrial openings and yet waiting inertly for governmental panaceas or wasting their energies in clamoring for them. But, though he freely criticised his countrymen's faults with a view to their reform, he also recognized and handsomely advertised the many advantages of his native province. To attain the prosperity which nature seemed to have destined for them, he thought Nova Scotians only wanted more industry and more confidence in domestic enterprises, with less devotion to politics, less false pride (which set some people against agriculture and other honorable industries) and less self-complacency, that they might recognize their faults and reform them.

Looking far ahead of his contemporaries, Haliburton was strongly in favor of federating the Empire. He compared it to a hoopless barrel whose staves must be bound together more securely or else tumble to pieces, and to a bundle of sticks that needed to be tied more firmly or they would fall apart. His ideal moralist yearned "to see colonists and Englishmen * * united as one people, having the same rights and privileges, each bearing a share of the public burdens, and all having a voice in the general government."

He seems to have fretted under the subordinate status of the colonies, and to have yearned for a fuller Imperial citizenship. "No, don't use the word 'our' till you are entitled to it," says the Clockmaker. "Be formal and everlastin' polite. Say 'your' empire, 'your' army, etc., and never strut under borrowed plumes." Elsewhere he has compared the colonies to ponds which rear frogs, but want only inlets and outlets to become lakes and produce fine fish. He thought the main cause of discontent among gifted and self-reliant colonists was the lack of openings for genius and ambition. He argued that the representation of the colonists in the Imperial Parliament would also serve to prevent dangerous disaffection—their representatives would be "safety valves to let off steam." He thought the North American colonies had already reached a period in their growth "when the treatment of adults should supersede that of children"; but he was not one of those who wished to accept the full privileges of manhood and shirk its obligations and responsibilities.

"Sam Slick," his most noted creation, is in most respects a typical, wide-awake Yankee. He is versatile and shifty. He loves to best a body in a trade—especially when the other party thinks himself knowing. He wants to turn everything to practical use, and at Niagara is struck first by the water-power, and secondly by the grandeur of the Falls! He flatters, wheedles and "soft-sawders" everlastingly; but he never cringes to anyone. He is a past-master of slang, and is quoted widely, in illustration of colloquialism, in Bartlett's *Dictionary of American Slang*. He is flippant, sometimes to the verge of irreverence and indelicacy. He is a shrewd and close observer of character as well as of externals, of classes as well as individuals. Proud and boastful of his country, he sees some of its faults

and dangers, and criticizes it freely himself. But he resents the criticisms of foreigners, especially of superficial observers who think they know everything in a few weeks. These gentry he sometimes "bams" with such shocking tales as *The Gouging School* or *The Black Stole.* He is so sublimely self-conceited as to be unconscious of the failing; but his boastfulness is not wholly due to his conceit. He sometimes brags because "it saves advertising." "I always do it," he confesses, "for, as the Nova Scotia Magistrate said, who sued his debtor before himself, 'what is the use of being a Justice if you can't do yourself justice?'"

In some of his opinions, however, Mr. Slick is certainly not the typical Yankee of his time. He pours ridicule on the mock modesty and suggestive squeamishness of New Englanders. "Fastidiousness," he says, "is the envelope of indelicacy." He detests cant and distrusts those who use it. Hypocrisy, he thinks, "has enlisted more folks for Old Scratch than any recruitin' sergeant he has." He is opposed to Prohibition and notes some of the humbugs then as now connected with it. "Puritans," he says, "whether in or out of church make more sinners than they save by a long chalk. They ain't content with real sin. Their eyes are like the great magnifier at the Polytechnic, that shows you awful monsters in a drop of water, which were never intended for us to see, or Providence would have made our eyes like Lord Rosse's telescope."

To believe that any human being, much less one who starts life under considerable disadvantages, could know all that Mr. Slick *says* he knows would tax one's credulity overmuch. He is equally at home in the politics of England, Canada and the United States. He paints, he plays the piano and the bugle, he dances, he is skilled in woodcraft and angling, he rows and paddles neatly, he shoots like Leather Stocking or Dr. Carver. He can speculate in any line with equal success. He has a fair smattering of medicine and chemistry. He offers a hawker of cement a much better receipt of his own invention. He has been in almost every country, including Poland, South America and Persia. In the latter country he has learned the art of stupifying fishes and making them float on the surface. He dyes a drunken hypocrite's face with a dye he got from the Indians in the

"great lone land"; and when the hypocrite repents he has a drastic wash ready to efface the stain. "I actilly larned French in a voyage to Calcutta," he says, "and German on my way home." He knows a little Gaelic, too, which he learned on a new and agreeable system that, unfortunately, would never do in the Public Schools.

Granting that the typical Jack-of-all-trades in his time was the inquisitive and acquisitive Yankee, yet Sam Slick beats the record of his shifty countrymen. He has been everywhere where a lively reminiscence can be located and is endowed with any art or attainment that comes in handy "to point a moral or adorn a tale," to snub a snob or help a friend. He understands every phase of human nature, and is impossibly familiar with every social *stratum*.

Artemus Ward was not without warrant in terming Haliburton the founder of the American school of humor, for most of its phases, from the affected simplicity of Mark Twain to the malapropism of Mrs. Partington, are illustrated in his works. About fifteen years before the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Topsy's famous phrase was anticipated in the first series of *The Clockmaker* (C. 12), where a country girl, being asked where she was brought up, answered: "Why, I guess I wasn't brought up at all, I growed up." Not only phrases but anecdotes and tales have been borrowed from Haliburton by modern humorists. One might even argue, spitefully, that he furnished the model for "Peck's Bad Boy," for there is in *The Letter Bag* an epistle from a youth who plays a series of tricks almost as nefarious as those of Peck's monstrosity.

Haliburton pointed the shafts of his sarcasm usually at types and classes, seldom at individuals. He saw an unoccupied field for a satirist at home and he proceeded to occupy it. "The absurd importance attached in this country to trifles," observes one of his characters, "the grandiloquent language of rural politicians, the flimsy veil of patriotism under which selfishness strives to hide . . . present many objects for ridicule and satire." He used dialogue copiously as a means to make his writings popular. "Why is it," asked Sam Slick, "If you read a book to a man you set him to sleep? Just because the language ain't common. Why is it if you talk to him he will sit

up all night with you? Just because it's talk, the language of natur'." And written chat, he evidently thought, was the most effective medium next to oral chat for holding the attention of all classes. Haliburton had a great gift for aphorism and quaint conceits, and was never at a loss for an apt or grotesque simile.

It is not unlikely that he might have taken rank among the very greatest literary names of the century if he had been a little less genial and self-indulgent, or if he had had higher educational advantages and a more stimulating literary environment at the outset of his career. As it was, Haliburton generally wrote forcibly, and often smoothly and classically, while in detached passages he could be terse and even brilliant. But the attractions of his style are not sustained, and he is sometimes a little slip-shod or diffuse. He is accordingly more to be admired as a humorist than as a stylist, and still more, perhaps, as a thorough student and an acute judge of human nature. He intuitively recognized the tendencies of the age; he observed the currents of public opinion, and gauged their volume and their force with approximate correctness.

His literary faults include discursiveness, repetition, inconsistency in his characters, lack of thoroughness in his researches, a few somewhat indelicate jests. But these faults bear but a small ratio to the merits of this great Canadian writer—to his exuberant humor, his acute observation, his sound judgment, his wide horizon, and the general beneficence of his aims. And if some too industrious hands—some other hands than mine—shall at any future time undertake to unfold his venial frailties in more detail, true Canadian sons of the Empire will not forget that he believed in guarding forever the imperial birthright whose grandeur he was great enough to understand. *

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* A literary society was organised in 1884 in connection with King's College, Windsor, N. S., and named the Haliburton Club. It has published two volumes: the first, a pamphlet by the present writer, entitled "Haliburton: The Man and the Writer"; the second, "Haliburton: A Centenary Chaplet." The latter is illustrated and contains, with four other papers, a complete bibliography compiled by J. P. Anderson of the British Museum, giving a list of magazine articles referring to the author and of English and foreign editions of his works.

CHAPTER XIV.

HON. JOSEPH HOWE.

The Late Principal Grant's Estimate of Joseph Howe—Howe's Love for Nova Scotia and Her People and His Far-Reaching Influence—Sabine's Account of the Enthusiasm for "Jo Howe"—His Father a United Empire Loyalist of Boston—A God-Fearing Man—Joe Howe's Tribute to His Father's Memory—The Birthplace of the Great Reformer—A Child of Nature—His Education—Learns the Printing Trade—A Poet of Considerable Power—Purchases the "Nova Scotian"—Attacks the Abuses of His Time—Howe's Far-Reaching Influence as a Journalist—The Nova Scotia "Family Compact"—Mr. George E. Fenety's Description of the Council—Howe's Familiarity with the Whole Province—His Marriage—A Serious Illness—His Celebrated Trial for Libel—Elected to the Assembly—Begins the Great Battle for Responsible Government—The Stubborn Attitude of the Council—Howe Moves a Series of Twelve Reform Resolutions—His Brilliant Eight Hour Speech in the Assembly—Joe Howe in a Duel—The Council, Enraged at Resolutions, Refuses to Pass Supply Bill—Howe Appeals to the Secretary for the Colonies—Sir Colin Campbell Opposed to Responsible Government—Lord Falkland Replaces Him—Howe Makes an Enemy of Lord Falkland—Howe's Life Among the Farmers of Musquodoboit—His Influence Upon the Material Prosperity of Nova Scotia—His Attitude Towards Confederation—His Great Detroit Speech—Takes Office Under Sir John Macdonald—Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia—His Death.

THE late Principal Grant in his powerful sketch of the character and career of the Hon. Joseph Howe, which appeared in *The Canadian Monthly* nearly twenty-eight years ago, calls that great reformer "Nova Scotia incarnate." At first this may seem but a half truth, for during many long years Howe was bitterly opposed in his reforms by a large and influential section of the people of the Atlantic Province of the Dominion. But these people were, for the most part, alien to the soil. They were not Nova Scotians, but native born Englishmen or United Empire Loyalists who formed a species of "Family Compact" in the land where they had pitched their tents, and who despised the natives of the Province, looking upon them as only fit to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to the dominant class. Joseph Howe, or "Joe Howe," as he was more familiarly called, was truly representative of the masses of Nova Scotia. They loved him and he them; and the ocean-

washed shores, the tide-tortured rivers, the barren places, and the fruitful valleys of his native land were dearer to him than any other places on earth.

No other Canadian—not even Sir John Macdonald or Sir Wilfrid Laurier—has had such enthusiastic worship from his followers. Through his paper and in parliament he talked to them "about politics, and trade and agriculture;" he made them "laugh a good deal" and "think a good deal more" even while they were laughing. He formed them; his thoughts were their thoughts, and the freedom they ultimately possessed was brought about by him and they reverenced him as at once their friend and the shaper of their ideals.

Sabine in his *Loyalists of the American Revolution* admirably shows the enthusiasm there was, in the forties, throughout the length and breadth of Nova Scotia for the man who had done by pen and tongue what Mackenzie and Papineau failed to do by force of arms in Upper and Lower Canada.

"It was 'Jo Howe' by day and by night," writes Sabine. "The Yankee peddler drove good bargains in 'Jo Howe' clocks. In the coal mine, in the plaster-quarry, in the ship-yard, in the forest, on board the fishing pogy, the jigger and the pinkey, it was still 'Jo Howe.' Ships and babies were named 'Jo Howe.' The loafers of the shops and taverns swore great oaths about 'Jo Howe.' The young men and maidens flirted and courted in 'Jo Howe' badges, and played and sang 'Jo Howe' glees. It was 'Jo Howe' everywhere."

Joseph Howe was of United Empire Loyalist stock,—Puritan stock at that. At the time of the American Revolution, his father, John Howe, was employed as a printer in Boston. He worked for a Mrs. Draper who was publishing the *Boston News-Letter* when the flames of revolution broke out. Mrs. Draper seems to have been a loyal Britisher, and when the British troops evacuated the city, in 1776, she moved her printing plant to Halifax and there established the *Nova Scotia Gazette*. She took with her John Howe, who, for some four or five years, managed her business. In 1781 he branched

out for himself and issued the first numbers of the *Halifax Journal.* He was a man of force and integrity and rapidly won the confidence of the leaders in his adopted Province and was appointed Postmaster of the Province.

John Howe was a God-fearing man who assembled his children about him for worship morning and night, and who on the Sabbath went forth with his Bible under his arm to minister to his little flock of Sandemanians in an "upper room." He was much beloved by his family, and set them an example of generosity to the poor and sympathy with the erring. His purse was ever open to those in need, and he regularly visited the prisons to help the fallen; and frequently when prisoners were set free they found a resting place at his home until they could secure employment. To the end of his days he remained the same generous, God-fearing, true-hearted Christian, and in his charitable work, in his declining years, received assistance from his son Joseph. His children held their father's memory in reverence and much of the beauty and goodness of Joe Howe's character was due to the fact that he looked up to his austere and kindly father and ever found delight in his society. The following stanza written to his half-sister, Jane—and Joe Howe was no mean poet—well shows what a dutiful and loving son he was:

"Oh, how we loved him, love him now,
Our noble father! By his side
My mother, who my faults would chide;
With cares domestic on her brow,
More wayward, and of sterner mood,
But ever provident and good;
Hating all shams, and looking through
The Beautiful to find the True."

His father was the predominating influence in his life. He had been to him an instructor, a play-fellow, a daily companion, to use the words of his illustrious son who could say of him: "He was too good for this world; but the remembrance of his cheerfulness, his childlike simplicity and truly Christian character is never absent from my mind." From his father, who was to the end a Loyalist and a Tory, Joe Howe inherited not a little of his Toryism and a great deal of his love of the Empire. It is true that during the course of his life Howe seemed the opposite of a Tory, but ever under the surface was that love for established institutions, for monarchical form of

MAJOR GENERAL SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL AT THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG

government, that Conservatism that is the mark of the Tory. His brothers were pronouncedly Conservative, and, it is said, voted and worked against him both in his campaigns in the city of Halifax and throughout the Province.

This illustrious Nova Scotian was born in 1804 in a one-and-a-half story house which was situated on the eastern bank of the North-West Arm of Halifax Harbour. It was a beautiful spot with the Atlantic coming in and flowing out, stirring the imagination of the youthful dreamer. The rugged shores, the forest-clad slopes fronting his home and the sandy bays were to him sources of perpetual joy. Wordsworth, with all his love for nature, was not more deeply impressed by his surroundings than was this young Nova Scotian. He delighted to fish and to swim in the streams, to gather wild flowers in the meadows. He loved to go forth with rod and gun and spear and he spent much of his time sailing on the waters of the harbour near his home. As a result he grew up robust in frame and with an ardent love of nature.

His home was situated at a considerable distance from Halifax, and he found it no easy matter to attend school regularly. However, up to his thirteenth year he went to school in the city during the summer months, but in the winter season was forced to remain at home. He was not a brilliant student, and to many of his comrades he seemed to be "a regular dunce." At thirteen he was apprenticed to the printing trade in the office of the *Gazette* under his half-brother, John. He was now to lay the foundation of his future career.

At this time Halifax was intensely aristocratic; no upstart could find an entrance into the charmed circle of society in the city. The leaders in this society drew large salaries and spent the money with a lavish hand among the despised trades-people of the Province. Government House was the centre of this aristocratic life, and it was the aim of every young Nova Scotian to win an entrance to that exalted place. The printer's apprentice could have but little hope. However, he had something that neither wealth nor ancestry can purchase—genius. While still under twenty he tried his hand at poetry, and one poem of his, *Melville Island*, gained the notice of the Lieutenant-

Governor. So strong was it and so much promise did the Lieutenant-Governor see in his lines that he invited the young printer to Government House. No doubt *Melville Island* and the reception it got had much to do with shaping Howe's future career.

Howe rapidly progressed in his profession and in 1827, in partnership with James Spike, purchased the *Weekly Chronicle*. The name of this paper was changed to the *Acadian*, and its pages were devoted to work of a literary character. It was not a success, and Howe, desiring to enter upon a wider field of journalistic activity, disposed of his interest and purchased the *Nova Scotian*. With the establishing of this paper a new era began in the politics of the Maritime Provinces. Howe was a fighter by nature and at once, with due caution, began to attack the abuses of his time. It is not too much to say that he ranks first among the journalists that British North America has produced, and his influence, despite the limited audience he appealed to, was greater than that of any other Canadian journalist, not even excepting George Brown. When he began to conduct the *Nova Scotian* he found a system of affairs in his country that no freedom-loving man could endure. The people had representative institutions in name only. There was a monopoly of office and a "Family Compact" quite as strong as the one that held Upper Canada in its grip. The Governor was sent from England. He had an advisory board of twelve members and this little circle of aristocrats ruled the Province. Of this the late Mr. George E. Fenety writes:

"They were all 'Honorables,' and would have no intercourse with the people's representatives, unless to cross them and clog the Royal assent to any measure that did not harmonize with their prejudices. If one of them died, another was put in his place having the most influence. If the head of a department passed away, his office was quickly filled by one of his own kith and kin; and so on in every case. The continuity or tenure was indisputable. Those officials were only amenable to themselves and to the Governor; and if the latter proved to be a simple or weak man, as some of them were, he was easily brought over to their way of thinking. Thus all the offices in the country were in the hands of those twelve irresponsible men, whose individual

salaries or appurtenances arising from their positions, were large enough to maintain their families in regal splendor, of course at the expense of 'the people' who were as much under their sway as the people of Russia now are under their Czar. The subordinate clerkships in the various departments were dealt with in the same manner—that is all the employees were appointed by the irresponsible heads, whether good, bad or indifferent, and nobody outside the circle could utter a word of protest. Then the Press was shackled or held under the same restraining bondage—not but that there was freedom for the expression of independent thought, even to make war upon 'the compact,' but the publishers knew too well that it was at the risk of losing *prestige* and patronage, or incurring the displeasure or withdrawal of countenance of those who were linked in some way with the parties assailed."

It was against this society that Howe took up his editorial pen. He was fearless in his attacks, and although frequently threatened with the law and with physical chastisement he continued in his good work. While doing it he gained an intimate acquaintance with the people of the Province. He was his own business manager, and in the interests of his paper journeyed from one end of Nova Scotia to the other. The breezy letters he wrote about his travels were only second to Judge Haliburton's delightful sketches of Nova Scotian characters. And Judge Haliburton, by the way, was to find his first introduction to the public through the pages of the *Nova Scotian.*

For the first time in the history of Nova Scotia the freedom of the press and the right of the press to express itself on great public questions was battled for. Howe attended the meetings of the Legislative Assembly and gave a fair and unbiased report of the proceedings; but his editorial comment on the work of the house was eagerly read, as eagerly as were George Brown's editorials at the time of the Representation by Population agitation. He did more to mould public opinion through the editorial pages of the *Nova Scotian* than did any of the people's representatives from their places in the House. His reportorial work in the Legislative Assembly did much to educate him for his great career as a reformer.

He was prosperous now and felt himself in a position to marry, and so in 1828 he was wedded to a daughter of Captain John McNab.

He continued to build up a prosperous newspaper business and overworked himself in the effort, so that in 1832 when seized by a fever his constitution was so much run down by his work that his life was despaired of, and not a few in the Province were uncharitable enough to hope that he might not recover. Recover he did, and continued his battle against the Nova Scotia "Family Compact."

Howe's true career began in 1835. In that year Mr. George Thompson published a letter in the *Nova Scotian*, pointing out the corrupt condition of affairs in the municipal government of the city and county of Halifax. Although no names were mentioned the officials were accused of corruption and Halifax became very much excited. The publisher of the *Nova Scotian* was indicted for libel; a true bill was found against him, and the Attorney-General sent him his notice for trial. Mr. Howe was not in the least alarmed, and visited several lawyers to get them to conduct his case but they refused, and told him that he should make his peace or submit to fine and imprisonment. He thereupon determined to conduct his own case, and borrowing books on libel from some of his legal friends shut himself up for two weeks before his trial and made a thorough study of libel.

When the day of his trial came he went before the jury with only the first two paragraphs of his speech committed to memory. The court-room was crowded. Those on the Bench were against him and a number of the jury were related to the magistrates and the judges; but Howe had a great cause, a righteous cause. The freedom of the press was at stake and what he might suffer as an individual was sunk in the great cause he was advocating. For six hours he addressed the jury with a power never before heard in a Nova Scotia court-room. For six hours eloquent words fell from his lips, and at times the crowd applauded his utterances and at times they were moved to tears. The court was adjourned at the close of his speech, but on the following morning after the jury had listened to the prejudiced words of the Attorney-General and the Chief-Justice they retired, and in the short space of ten minutes brought in a verdict of not guilty. It was a magnificent triumph and the people rejoiced in it, and a new day broke for Nova Scotia. They carried their hero home, shoulder-high; and he was forced to address them

again from the window of his house. He said but few words; his heart was too full for utterance, and leaving the crowd of cheering people before his house he threw himself on his bed and wept "tears of pride, joy and overwrought emotion—the tears of one who has discovered a new fount of feeling and new forces in himself."

This great speech made Howe famous. Before this time he was known as a brilliant and clever journalist, but from this moment he was, to the end of his life, to be looked upon as the ablest mind in Nova Scotia. Some Nova Scotians resident in New York rejoiced to learn of the victory he had gained for the Press, and presented him with a silver ewer appropriately engraved in memory of the occasion.

He had been educating the people of Nova Scotia for some years through the Press, and he now felt called upon to help the Reform forces on the floor of the House, and so when the Assembly was dissolved by proclamation in 1836 he offered himself as a candidate for the county of Haliburton, and so popular was he that he was elected by a majority of a thousand. His position in the Province was very well stated on the banners used in his campaign; "Joe Howe, our Patriot and Reformer" was everywhere in evidence throughout his constituency. He was now in the vigor of his young manhood. But thirty-two years old at the time of his election, he had the strength and youthful enthusiasm which was in the end to bring about the reforms that seemed impossible when he began his career.

At this same time a struggle was taking place in Upper Canada. "Patriots" and "Loyalists" were at daggers drawn. The "Family Compact" had the Province by the throat, and to many of the people the winning of liberty by constitutional means seemed impossible. The struggle was to end in bloodshed; swords were to be drawn, and much property and many noble lives were to be lost. Joe Howe did all that the Reformers of Upper Canada did and more, and he did all by constitutional means. Had there been a strong, sane man in Upper Canada in 1836 to educate the people through the Press and on the floors of the Assembly, the "Patriots' war" might have been averted. Doubtless if William Lyon Mackenzie had

been in Nova Scotia rebellion would have broken out, for a large section of the people throughout the country felt strongly against the domineering attitude of their constitutional rulers.

As soon as the Assembly met in 1837 Howe became the recognized leader of the Reformers. The old Council of Twelve sitting with closed doors, answerable, practically to no one, for their actions, at once became a subject for attack. Mr. Doyle moved a series of resolutions in opposition to the doors of the Legislative Council being kept closed to the public, but these resolutions were treated with scorn by the Council, and even some of the more moderate of the Liberal leaders were not prepared to stand by Howe and his followers. They deserted the Radical wing and Howe formed the advanced Liberal party which was to work out the reforms he had at heart.

To Doyle's resolutions the Council replied: "That His Majesty's Government denied the right of the House to comment upon its mode of procedure. Whether their deliberations were open or secret was their concern and theirs only." The battle continued and finally right prevailed, and the doors of the Council were forced open.

When Howe entered the Assembly members were elected for a term of seven years, but a bill was now introduced to make the term four years. On the occasion of the debate on this bill Howe proved himself a brilliant and witty speaker. He was attacked by one of the ablest parliamentarians of his time, a man experienced in chastising opponents, and so bitter was his address that Howe's friends pitied him; but Howe, after dealing with the serious question before the country, turned on his antagonist and held him up to such ridicule that ever after his opponents attacked him with fear and trembling.

But his great work during this first session was a series of twelve resolutions he introduced on behalf of reform. One of these resolutions admirably gives the demands of the reformers and the state of the government at this time in Nova Scotia, and is here quoted in full:

Resolved "That while the House had a due reverence for British institutions, and a desire to preserve to themselves and their children the

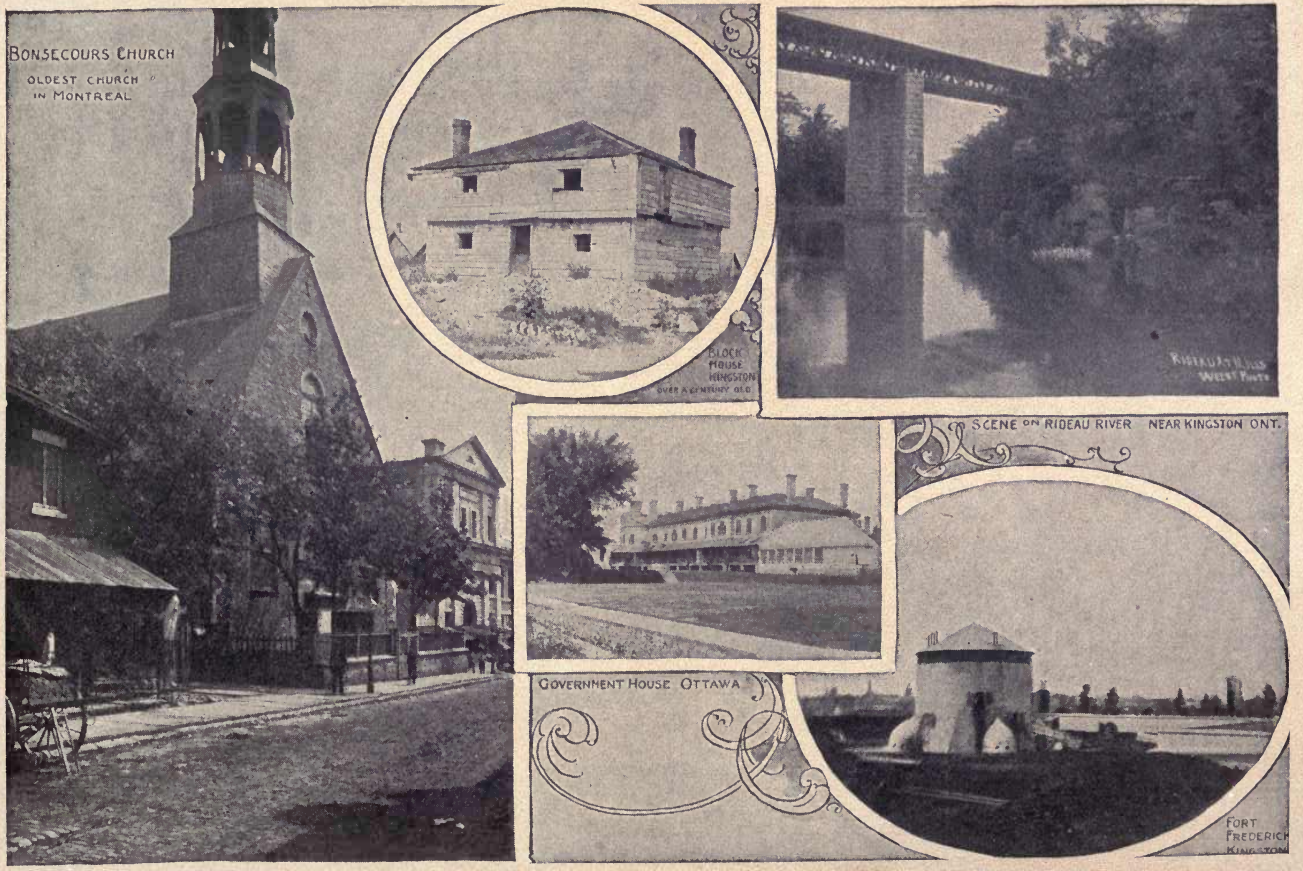
advantages of that constitution, under which their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic have enjoyed so much prosperity and happiness, they cannot but feel that those they represent participate but slightly in these blessings. They know that the spirit of that Constitution—the genius of those institutions—is complete responsibility to the people, by whose resources and for whose benefit they are maintained. But sad experience has taught them that, in this colony, the people and their representatives are powerless, exercising upon the local government very little influence, and possessing no effectual control. In England, the people by one vote of their representatives, can change the Ministry, and alter any course of policy injurious to their interests; here the Ministry are His Majesty's Council, combining legislative, judicial and executive powers, holding their seats for life, and treating with contempt or indifference the wishes of the people, and the representations of the Commons. In England, the representative branch can compel a redress of grievances by withholding the supplies; here they have no such remedy, because the salaries of nearly all the public men being provided for by permanent laws, or paid out of the casual and territorial revenues, or from the produce of duties collected under Imperial Acts, a stoppage of supplies, while it inflicted great injury upon the country by leaving the roads, bridges and other essential services unprovided for, would not touch the emoluments of the heads of departments in the Council, or of any but a few of the subordinate officers of the government."

These resolutions roused the friends of the Council and man after man arose to level his sharpest thrusts at Howe. For ten days this debate continued and for ten days strong and bitter speeches were heard in the House of Assembly. But Howe was calm through it all and carefully noted down in shorthand—and he was an expert stenographer—the main points in his opponents' speeches, and when they had finished rose amid an ominous silence and began an address which lasted for eight hours. It was a brilliant piece of work worthy to be studied alongside the best speeches delivered in Congress or in the British House of Commons. He proved himself once more a master of rhetoric, and by apt illustration, by biting sarcasm, by flashes of wit, held the crowded house spell-bound during the entire speech. The opening was a

happy one and will serve to illustrate Howe's manner of debate, and shows at once his power as an orator and a self-confidence which, when backed by knowledge, goes far to give power.

"There is a good story told of an Irishman," he said, "who was put in the pillory for saying that the city authorities were no better than they should be. He bore the affliction with exemplary patience, and severe enough it was; for every silly fellow who expected an invitation to the Mayor's feast—every servile creature, who aspired to a civic office, strove to win favor by pelting him with conspicuous activity. When the hour had expired, and a goodly array of missiles had accumulated upon the stage, the culprit, taking off his hat and bowing politely to the crowd, said: 'Now, gentlemen, it is my turn,' and commencing with his Worship, pelted the crowd with great dexterity and effect. The Irish, who always relish humor, were so pleased with the joke that they carried the man home on their shoulders. I have no expectation that my fate will be so triumphant, but no gentleman will question my right to follow the example. I have sat for ten days in this political pillory; missiles of every calibre have hurtled about my head; they have accumulated in great abundance, and if my turn has come, those by whom they were showered have no right to complain. As first in dignity, if not in accuracy of aim, perhaps I ought to commence with the learned and honorable crown officers; but there is an old Warwickshire tradition, that Guy, before he grappled with the dun cow, tried his hand upon her calves; and perhaps it would be as well, before touching the learned Attorney-General, that I should dispose of the strange progeny his political system has warmed into existence. The eagle, before he lifts his eye to the meridian, learns to gaze with steadiness on the lesser lights by which he is surrounded; and "as Jove's satellites are less than Jove," so are the learned leader's disciples inferior to their master."

Howe's own words are infinitely superior to anything that can be said in praise of them, and several short passages in this same speech admirably illustrate his transcendent powers as a debater. Of one of his opponents he said: "To my honorable friend's manliness and courtesy I am willing to bear testimony; but his reverence for the past makes him a very poor judge or



PLACES OF INTEREST IN OLD AND NEW CANADA

expounder of the new principles; like "Old Mortality" he delights in haunting ancient places and refreshing broken tombstones; while the stream of life goes by and flowers bloom unheeded at his feet." Of another he said: "My honorable friend found fault with me for my reference to David, and told me that that great and good man 'raised not his hand against the Lord's anointed.' Neither have I. I have not killed Lord Falkland, but I have shown him, as David did Saul, the folly and negligence of his advisers. When the drowsy guards left the master they should have protected, at his mercy, in the cave of Engedi, David cut off the skirt of his garment, to show the imbecility of the statesmen and warriors by whom he was surrounded."

It was this powerful use of language, this consummate art as a speaker, coupled with the conviction that he was right, that made Howe the idol of the people of Nova Scotia and that brought about the reforms he advocated.

However, he could not speak as he did without making bitter enemies, so bitter that some of them even sought his life. As a result of the speech on the twelve resolutions he was challenged to a duel by the son of the Chief Justice, John Haliburton. To decline the duel would have been to stamp him with cowardice. He met his opponent in the early morning hours, permitted Haliburton to shoot first and then deliberately discharged his pistol in the air. As Principal Grant says: "he had no desire to have murder upon his soul," and as he was a dead shot it would have gone hard with Haliburton had he taken advantage of the situation. This did not satisfy the Tories, however, and one Sir Robert D'George likewise challenged him to mortal combat. However, he wisely declined the challenge, saying "that he was not prepared to make himself a target for everyone to shoot at who maintained he had a grievance," and added "that his country at that time could not afford to dispense with his services."

The resolutions introduced by Howe and duly passed by the Assembly roused the anger of the council, and they refused to vote supplies unless the obnoxious resolutions were withdrawn. Howe was as diplomatic as he was resolute, and promptly moved that the resolutions be rescinded; and the

appeased Council passed the Supply Bill. Howe then embodied the substance of the resolutions in an address to the Crown, and the address was adopted during the closing hours of the session.

Howe went further than this. He addressed a series of letters to Lord John Russell, Secretary for the Colonies, pointing out the state of affairs in Nova Scotia and the need of responsible government to keep the colonies loyal to the motherland. In these letters he deplored the rebellious outbreaks in Canada. His strong presentation of the case, coupled with the report of Lord Durham, did much to make the Home government take a liberal view of the situation. Instructions were sent to Sir Colin Campbell, Governor of Nova Scotia, to, as far as possible, meet the wishes of the people; but Sir Colin Campbell was opposed to responsible government for Nova Scotia, and put forth no efforts to carry out the suggestions of Lord John Russell. Howe thereupon moved an address to Her Majesty in which the grievances of the Province were set forth at length, and in which the recall of Sir Colin Campbell was demanded. Lord Falkland was sent out to replace him and at once made a feeble endeavor to satisfy those who claimed that they had grievances.

He dismissed four of the members of the Executive Council and invited four Liberals to accept the vacant seats. They did so, but the Tory and Reform elements in the Council continued to act in such bitter antagonism to each other that no progress in reform was made. Howe and his friends in the end resigned. Lord Falkland sided with the old Tory element, and at the time of the elections visited different parts of the Province with the hope of defeating Howe. But Howe followed in his steps, scathingly denounced his mode of conducting the government and won a magnificent victory, carrying the Province by a large majority. A vote of want of confidence in the government was passed and the Tory executive resigned. In 1848 Nova Scotia was in the hands of the Liberals. Lord Falkland felt his position keenly and left the province in anger and humiliation.

The fight had lasted for ten years and during that time Howe never let up in the struggle. The strain had been a great one; he had overworked

mind and body, but in the end he had his reward. During the last two years of the struggle he was forced to reside in the country, and among the Musquodoboit farmers he, to use his own words, "worked his body and rested his mind, learning to plow, to mow, to reap, to cradle." During these years he won the lasting friendship of the farmers of the Musquodoboit district.

Joseph Howe worked not only for the liberties of Nova Scotians, but for the material prosperity of the Province as well. In 1838 he made his first visit to Europe. On this trip the man-of-war on which he was a passenger met the steamer "Cyrius" off the coast of Ireland. Howe's quick mind at once conceived the scheme of having a line of such steamers ply between England and Halifax, linking the colony more closely to the motherland. He did not permit this to be merely a passing thought, but, when in London, succeeded in having the Colonial Secretary interested in steamship communication between England and America. As a result of Howe's work, Mr. Cunard, a merchant of Halifax, took hold of the scheme and the celebrated Cunard Line had its beginning.

Howe saw the possibilities of the development of his Province by the establishment of railway communication with the other Provinces of British North America, and, immediately after his great victory for responsible government was won, began the advocacy of vast railway enterprises. He had sublime confidence in the future of Canada, and in the early fifties declared: "That in a few years we shall make the journey hence to Quebec and Montreal, and home through Portland and St. John by rail, and I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam-engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific Ocean in five or six days." In his railway schemes he looked for help to England, but the Home government declined any assistance. Joe Howe was not to be beaten, but went to England and succeeded in changing the Colonial policy of the government of Great Britain, and secured from the government a pledge of a loan of £7,000,000 sterling at a low rate of interest for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. His suavity of manner and his eloquence made a deep impression on those with whom he came in contact in Great Britain. He was to visit

England again in the sixties, and while there delivered several speeches that delighted men accustomed to the oratory of a Gladstone, and did much to make Canada known in the homeland.

He early saw that for the true development of British North America the Provinces should be united, and his railway schemes pointed that way; but in 1861 he introduced resolutions proposing consultation between the Provinces on the subject of Confederation. The Colonial Secretary approved of the idea, but nothing came of it. However, notwithstanding Joe Howe's later attitude, he must ever be looked upon as one of the Fathers of Confederation. He was one of the first to propose a conference on the subject, and his eloquent words on a United Canada and a United Empire did much to educate those who were afterwards to work out the scheme of Confederation.

It was not to be plain sailing with him. Dr. Tupper, who had beaten him in 1855 in Cumberland County, led the Conservative forces in the Province with great astuteness, and in 1863 succeeded in winning forty out of fifty-five seats, and Howe handed over to him the keys of the Provincial Secretary's office.

The Charlottetown and Quebec Confederation conferences now took place, and Howe, who was absent on his duties as Fisheries Commissioner, was unable to attend them. It is difficult now to judge the man but posterity blames him for his violent opposition to Confederation. He may have been prompted by jealousy, and he may have taken his stand believing that his Province was being coerced into the union. He fought with his usual vigor and went to England and there "wrought as if he would move heaven and earth" against Confederation. But he was informed that the Act of Confederation would come into effect immediately, and he was requested to show no more opposition.

Right or wrong Nova Scotia stood by him, and in the elections that followed his return from England, only one Confederation member, Dr. Tupper, was returned for the Dominion, and in the Provincial election out of thirty-eight all but two constituencies elected anti-confederationists. The

people of Nova Scotia believed with Howe that the Province was being "coerced" into the union, and so great an authority as Mr. (Sir) Wilfrid Laurier has said "that it was an act of 'brute force.'"

That Howe was in no way disloyal to his country is shown in the magnificent speech he delivered in Detroit, July, 1865, at the great International Commercial Convention that was held in that city—a speech breathing loyalty and enthusiasm for his country in every sentence.

Had Howe's career ended with his opposition to Confederation the historians of his life might have had nothing but praise for him. But out of politics he could not keep, and he saw a wider field for his genius in the Dominion House, and so on the plea of securing better terms for the Province made overtures to the new Dominion government. Sir John Macdonald gladly welcomed to his forces a man who had so lately shown that he held a whole Province in the hollow of his hand, and Howe was given a seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of State. The cry at once went up that he had sold himself and his Province, and his old friends shunned him, and "young friends who once would have felt honored by a word, walked as close before or behind him as possible that he might hear their insults." He stood for the county of Hants, and after a hard struggle in the dead of winter, won by a small majority.

As the Secretary of State had charge of Indian affairs he was soon to be tested. The North-West Rebellion of 1870 broke out and Howe proved himself a statesman of breadth and generosity, and hope for the future. But he was never in the Dominion House the Joe Howe that led the Reform forces in the Nova Scotian House of Assembly. He was, to quote the words of an admirer and friend, "like a majestic oak in the midst of a forest denuded of its foliage by the lightning's blast—or a Sampson after having been shorn of his locks by a Delilah."

His constitution had been shattered by the long years of arduous toil for Nova Scotia, and friends and foes alike saw that he had not long to live. In 1873 the Government of Sir John Macdonald generously made him Lieutenant-Governor of the Province he had freed from bondage; but he was not long to enjoy the honor, for in a few weeks he died, and in the striking

language of Principal Grant, "the only levée he held in Government House was after his death when he lay in state and thousands crowded around to take a last look at their dead idol."

He was universally mourned. Genial, eloquent, sympathetic, Joe Howe had still the hearts of the people. In many humble homes in every part of the Province tears of genuine grief were shed when it was learned that the champion of the people's rights was no more.

CHAPTER XV.

HON. WILLIAM HAMILTON MERRITT.

William Hamilton Merritt, a Prominent United Empire Loyalist—His Father One of Simcoe's Queen's Rangers—His Mother a Native of South Carolina—His Father Attracted to Upper Canada by the Offers Held Out to Settlers by Governor Simcoe—The Family Settle in the Niagara District—William Hamilton Merritt's Early Education—A Long Journey to the East and to the Bermudas—Begins His Business Life—His Experiences in the War of 1812—His Marriage—Recommences a Business Career—Surveys the Route for the Welland Canal—The Undertaking Delayed—The Work on the Canal Commenced—For Five Years Occupied in Constructing and Financing the Welland Canal—The Canal Opened—Projects the Niagara Falls Suspension Bridge—Promotes Welland Railway Company—Mr. Merritt's Public Career—His Death While Passing Through the Canal at Cornwall.

AMONG the many sons of the United Empire Loyalists whose names stand out prominently on the pages of Canadian history as the makers of the great Dominion, none is more worthy of study than William Hamilton Merritt. His ancestors had fought valorously in the English wars, and one of them, his maternal great grandfather, had been present in some of the fights that finally wrested Canada from the French, so that William Hamilton Merritt's life may be said to have been associated with the history of British North America from its earliest days.

His father, Thomas Merritt, although a farmer's son, was a man of considerable culture and refinement, and had spent several years at Harvard College studying medicine. The War of the Revolution broke out, and he could not remain neutral. Simcoe's Queen's Rangers were, at that time, attracting a good deal of attention among the Loyalist population of the Colonies and many sought to be admitted to their ranks. Merritt was one of the first volunteers, and joined this celebrated corps as a coronet. As has been pointed out in the sketch of Governor Simcoe, the Rangers operated over a wide district. While they were in South Carolina Thomas Merritt met Miss Mary Hamilton, and, although on active service, was married to

her in 1779. After the regiment returned north and disbanded the young couple resided for a time in New York city, but the Loyalist soldier, finding the social atmosphere uncongenial, moved, along with many other Loyalists, to St. John, New Brunswick. Their residence here was but a brief one, and they shortly after moved to South Carolina, and from there to the old Merritt homestead in Westchester County, New York State. It was at this place, on July 3, 1793, that William Hamilton Merritt was born.

When Governor Simcoe began his rule in Upper Canada he put forth every effort to attract United Empire Loyalists to the Province. He was particularly anxious to have as many as possible of his old Rangers about him. Thomas Merritt learned of the offers he was holding out to settlers, and courageously took the long and difficult journey to Niagara district to see the land for himself. He was much impressed with the character of the inhabitants already settled in the country, and with the richness of the soil, and he determined to move there with his family; and in 1796 he journeyed to the Niagara peninsula and settled down in the forest primeval near what is now St. Catharines.

The early life of the subject of this sketch was a laborious one. The hewing out of a home in the forest of Upper Canada was by no means an easy task, and all had to labor with their hands. Young Merritt did much to assist his parents in building up a home in their adopted country. However, his father was not unmindful of his education and kept him constantly at school. He received the rudiments of learning at a log school at the "Corners," and when he was twelve years old he was sent to Port Burlington (now Hamilton) to attend the school of a Mr. Cockerell. Here he devoted most of his time to mathematics and field surveying, and, no doubt, it was here that he received the bent of mind that led him to consider the great engineering undertakings that he was afterwards to promote. Mr. Cockerell moved to Niagara and Young Merritt went with him, and had now the additional advantage of receiving instruction from the Rev. John Burns, a clergyman of sound classical scholarship.

MAISONEUVE MONUMENT, MONTREAL

When fifteen years old he set out on a journey that was to do not a little towards shaping his character. A sea-faring uncle was at Quebec, and he journeyed to that far city to join his ship and go with him to the Bermudas. It was his first insight into the vastness and beauty of Canada, and his boyish imagination was charmed with the grandeur of the Great Lakes, the exquisite beauty of the Thousand Islands and the exciting novelty of the rapids of the St. Lawrence. Montreal, the busy commercial centre of Canada, impressed him greatly, but what delighted him most was the majestic grandeur of the scene from the Heights of Quebec, the quaintness of the narrow streets under the citadel and the points of historic interest in that battle-scarred city.

From Quebec he journeyed down the St. Lawrence, crossed the Gulf, sailed through the Straits of Northumberland and into the picturesque and strongly fortified harbour of Halifax. From Halifax he sailed to the Island of St. George in the Bermudas. He had a stormy passage and was not greatly impressed with sea life, and never seems to have had any desire to take it up as a profession. His uncle sold his vessel, and he returned to his home, visiting New York and St. John, New Brunswick, on his way back. For some months he remained in St. John attending a very excellent school in that thriving town.

When he reached his home in Upper Canada he felt that it was time to begin life in earnest, and through the assistance of his father entered into a partnership in a general store. But his father was appointed sheriff of the district, and so much of his time was taken up with his official duties that his farm was being neglected and so his son disposed of his share in his business and undertook the management of his father's farm. He began his new life on a somewhat ambitious scale, and was thoroughly enjoying his work when the war that had been threatening for some years broke out between the United States and the Motherland. War had no terrors for him, and he decided to do what he could to repel the army that was threatening to invade Canada. From his earliest days he had been a fine horseman, and shortly before war

was declared had been given a lieutenant's commission in the militia. He at once got into the saddle, and until the battle of Lundy's Lane was one of the most distinguished cavalry leaders in Canada.

It was during the first year of the war, while he was patrolling the banks of the Niagara River, that the canal scheme, which was to be the great undertaking of his life, took shape in his brain. He was at the battle of Queenston Heights and did gallant work after the death of his commander, Brock. He had on several occasions been given important tasks to perform by Brock, and he now felt the loss of that distinguished leader keenly. He fought at the battle of Stoney Creek, was sent on several occasions to the east for reinforcements, and in the heroic struggle at Lundy's Lane was taken prisoner with a number of other officers. He was held prisoner for eight months, and spoke highly of the treatment he received at the hands of the Americans. It was not until March, 1815, that he was able to return to Canada.

Meanwhile his imprisonment could not have been altogether unpleasant, for, during his captivity, he met Miss Catharine Prendergast, the daughter of one Dr. Prendergast, a member of the New York Legislature, and on March 13, 1815, in his twenty-second year, was married.

When he returned to Upper Canada he entered energetically upon a business career. He seems to have reached out in many directions, and his labors are typical of the business enterprise of the time. He had a potashery, a saw-mill, a grist-mill and a distillery, and likewise devoted considerable of his time to the manufacture of salt, a very precious commodity at that time in the western wilderness. In the interests of his business he made several journeys to Kingston and Montreal and was held in high repute by those with whom he had dealings.

Shortly after beginning his business career the idea of connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario by means of a canal, which first entered his mind when, as a dashing cavalryman, he patrolled that district, now took more definite shape, and he made a rough survey of the region and believed that a canal could be constructed. He petitioned the government for a scientific

survey, and two thousand pounds were granted for the same. But the survey made was an unwise one, and the canal project was set back for five years.

On account of the destruction caused in Upper Canada by the War of 1812 the country was in a greatly depressed condition and business was carried on under such great difficulties that there were many failures. William Hamilton Merritt was among the sufferers and the business reverses that he sustained, in the early years of his mercantile career, were enough to crush a less energetic spirit, but he bore up manfully. His friends stood by him and the business men in Montreal, with whom he had dealings, had perfect confidence in him. In the end he was to come out all right, and, no doubt, the heroic struggle he made strengthened him for the vaster enterprises that he was, later in life, to bring to a successful conclusion.

Although the canal project was set back by the survey that was made in 1818, Mr. Merritt continued to talk up the scheme, and in 1823 succeeded in having a new survey made. In January of the following year the Welland Canal Company was incorporated, and for some years after this great project of uniting the two lakes was to receive his almost undivided attention. As soon as the company was incorporated he set forth for the purpose of procuring stock. He visited Kingston, Montreal and Quebec and found many sympathizers in his new work, and a few who were willing to give financial assistance. He visited Lord Dalhousie, and so impressed upon him the possibilities for the development of the great West that this canal would open up that Lord Dalhousie became almost as enthusiastic as himself and promised to lay the scheme before the home anthorities. The work was one which, he conceived, would be of almost as great interest to the United States as to Canada, and succeeded in securing financial aid there. It is worthy of note that had it not been for the help he received from his New York friends at this time his great canal scheme would probably have been delayed for some years. On his return from New York he visited De Witt Clinton, the originator of the Erie Canal, and endeavored to interest him in the project.

He was eminently successful and the directors felt that they could now begin their great engineering work; and so, on November 30, 1824, in the presence of some two hundred persons, the first sod was turned near the head of one of the branches of the "Twelve."

For the next five years William Hamilton Merritt was fully occupied with the construction of the canal. There were many who were only too glad to prophecy failure for the enterprise and the directors had to contend with local jealousy and a lack of national enthusiasm. However, the work went steadily on, and Mr. Merritt was able to inspire many with some of his own enthusiasm. As the work progressed it was found that more money would be required than was at first anticipated. The directors had exhausted the funds their Canadian and American friends were willing to risk in the enterprise, and so there was nothing left for it but to raise capital to complete the enterprise in England. Naturally Mr. Merritt was sent to the homeland to obtain funds. He had an interesting visit and was consulted by the Select Committee on the Civil Government of Canada with regard to the Clergy Reserves and other important matters. His replies to their questions show how deep and broad an interest he took in the political and social life of his country. He met with a considerable measure of success, and on his return to Canada work on the canal was prosecuted with renewed energy.

In the autumn of 1829 everything was ready to open the canal. Unlooked for circumstances arose, however, and it was decided not to have the public opening until 1830, but the real opening took place on November 27, 1829, when the schooner "R. H. Boughton," Captain Pheatt, and the schooner "Annie and Jane," Captain J. Voller, passed through the canal from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie and anchored in Buffalo on December 2. On their progress through the Welland Canal enthusiastic crowds had lined the banks, and when they reached Buffalo they were received with a salute.

The canal became government property in 1842, and a part of the great system of canals that was ultimately to connect Lake Superior with the Atlantic, and to William Hamilton Merritt is due the credit of being the first promoter of this vast engineering enterprise.

The building of the Welland Canal was not the only great enterprise he initiated. It was he who projected the Niagara Falls Suspension Bridge in 1845, and he was president of the company which built it until his death. Welland Railway Company, too, was promoted by him; indeed, he reached out in every direction possible for the true development of Canada, and in his undertakings the element of selfishness was never in evidence.

Naturally Mr. Merritt could not keep out of public life and was returned to Parliament for the county of Haldimand in 1832. He was a prominent figure during the bitter years of the rebellion and naturally opposed William Lyon Mackenzie, but he was likewise generous enough to sign the petition to Sir George Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, for the reprieve of Lount and Matthews, who had been sentenced to be hanged. It was he who brought this petition to Toronto and presented it to the Governor, but unhappily it was of no avail. He rejoiced when the Union took place, and had much to do with drawing Upper and Lower Canada closer together. In 1848 he was made President of the Council, and in 1850 he became Commissioner of Public Works. In 1851 he retired from Parliament, and did not return to public life until 1860 when he was elected by acclamation to the Legislative Council for Allanburg.

He had now not long to live. The closing years of his life were clouded with great sorrows. The death of his son William in 1860 and the death of his wife on the 10th of January, 1862, caused him such deep grief that his strength failed him and his friends saw that his death was not far off. He journeyed seaward with the hope that the sea breezes might restore him some of his old-time vigor, but when he reached Montreal he was in such poor health that the doctors gave him no hope of recovery; and in July he set out upon his return journey to St. Catharines, hoping to die among his own people in the district he had done so much to build up.

As the steamer "Champion," in which he was journeying westward, was passing through the canal at Cornwall the angel of death visited him. It was not an unfitting place in which to end his life; indeed, it was peculiarly appropriate, that one who had done so much to overcome the

obstacles to the successful navigation of the noble St. Lawrence should be gathered to his fathers on those calm waters and in sight of the turbulent rapids of the Long Sault.

William Hamilton Merritt was a Canadian with lofty ideals and lofty hopes for the future of his country and did much to foster that spirit of enterprise that has in the end given us a united Canada, and opened up the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

CHAPTER XVI.

BISHOP STRACHAN.

The Pioneer in Educational Matters in Upper Canada—Of Humble Scotch Parentage—Begins His Life Work as a Tutor—A Graduate of the University of Aberdeen—A School-Teacher in Scotland—Offered a Situation in Canada—His Disappointment on Reaching the New World—Teaches in Kingston—Takes Orders in the Church of England—Appointed to Cornwall—The Celebrated Cornwall School Established by Him—His Ideals as a Teacher—Appointed Rector at York—Does Excellent Work during the War of 1812—On Death of Honorable Richard Cartwright Appointed a Member of the Executive Council of Upper Canada—Vehemently Denounces Mr. Robert Gourlay—Appointed a Member of the Legislative Council—Pays a Visit to the Motherland—The Church of St. James Burned—The Building of the Cathedral of St. James—Mr. Poulett Thomson and the Clergy Reserves Question—Corner-Stone of King's College Laid—The Bishop of Toronto's Work in Connection with His Diocese—University of Toronto Takes the Place of King's College—Trinity College Opened—The Closing Years of Bishop Strachan's Life.

JOHN STRACHAN, Bishop of Toronto, was one of the first men to direct the attention of the people of Upper Canada to educational matters. He was of Scotch descent, having been born in Aberdeen, April 12, 1778. His father was an overseer in a stone-quarry and was nominally a Presbyterian, but it is said that he had a strong liking for the Episcopal service, and that his son frequently visited an Episcopal chapel with him.

When John Strachan was only fourteen years old his father met with an accident in the quarry which caused his death. His family were left in poor circumstances, and John had to look about him to find something to do to assist his mother and sisters to earn their livelihood. He secured work as a tutor and by rigid economy was enabled to enter the University of Aberdeen in 1794. The long vacation of the Scotch University gave him much time to himself and during these months he industriously taught. He had a successful college career and graduated a Master of Arts.

On graduating he obtained a school near St. Andrews with a salary of £30 a year, but he managed to save even out of this small income. He was a born teacher and early acquired a good reputation. A vacancy occurred in Kettle; he applied for the position and was accepted. At Kettle he received £50 a year.

About this time Upper Canada was attracting a good deal of attention in the Old World. A teacher was needed for that far distant province and Mr. Strachan, who was now in his twenty-first year was offered the position. He did not like the thought of leaving Scotland and his friends there, but the temptation of a free passage to the New World, board and lodging, and £80 a year induced him to leave his fatherland.

He sailed late in the year for Canada, and did not reach Kingston until the last day of December. Here he found that the situation had been misrepresented to him, and so disgusted with the outlook was he that he was anxious to return to Scotland at once; but he had not the price of a passage home. Richard Cartwright was then one of the leading men in Upper Canada. He was attracted by the sturdy and scholarly young Scot and took him into his own house, giving him tutorial work to do.

For three years John Strachan resided in Kington and was, during that time, a most successful teacher; but he saw no future for him in the teaching profession and so he decided to take Orders in the Church of England. He was ordained on May 22, 1803, and was appointed to Cornwall.

Although he was now a preacher of the Gospel he found it impossible to shake off his love of teaching, and as soon as he was established at Cornwall renewed his work as a teacher and established the celebrated Cornwall School. Among his pupils were a number of lads who were to rise to the first place in the affairs of this country. As a teacher he had strikingly original methods. His boys were thoroughly drilled, but at the same time he was no pedant. He had the very loftiest conception of education, and in an address which he delivered four years after establishing his school at Cornwall, pointed out what he believed to be the true purpose of education.

HON. WILLIAM HAMILTON MERRITT

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE

"Be careful, my young friends," he said, "in the prosecution of your professional studies, to improve the advantages which you have here acquired. Be patient, diligent, and methodical, and you will make rapid and profitable progress. It is to the want of a systematic education, to a confused method of thinking, early acquired but never thoroughly removed, that we must attribute those numerous inconsistencies and that confusion of ideas, which we find so general among those we converse with. The opinions of persons of credit are frequently taken up by men without examination, or deduced from principles in themselves erroneous, because they have never given themselves the trouble of sifting them to the bottom. How contemptible rash opinions, unsupported by solid reasons, must appear to an accurate thinker, though delivered with fluency, or even elegance of language, it is easy to imagine. By encouraging you to think accurately, and to exercise industry and application, we have endeavored to protect you from this rock, and to give solidity to all your future acquisitions. It is only the man who is not afraid to decide for himself, that can discharge any office he may hold, with probity and honor."

And again in closing: "Cultivate then, my young friends, all these virtues which dignify the human character, and mark in your behaviour the respect you entertain for everything venerable and holy. It is this conduct that will raise you above the rivalship, the intrigues, and slanders by which you will be surrounded. They will exalt you above this little spot of earth, so full of malice, contention and disorder; and extend your views, with joy and expectation, to that better country which is beyond the grave."

It was in the year when he gave this sage advice to his pupils that he was married to a well-to-do widow, the daughter of Dr. Wood, a physician of Cornwall. He continued for some years longer to labor industriously both as a teacher and a preacher. His sermons were powerful efforts; and, due to his robust Scotch constitution, he was able to accomplish the work of three men. His ability and usefulness in the New World were to receive recognition from his old university, and in 1811 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

About this time the whole course of his life was to be changed. The death of Dr. Stuart necessitated his removal to the capital of the Province, where he was to labor for over fifty years. He seems ever to have been most careful about financial matters, and was loath to leave Cornwall where he was prospering. York was, at that time, a village of little more than three hundred inhabitants, and at first he would not accept the call; but when Major-General Sir Isaac Brock offered him the chaplaincy of the troops, thus adding £150 to his income, he promptly accepted.

He journeyed to York at a critical time in the history of the country. The War of 1812 was just beginning, and as he and his family voyaged westward in a batteau they were constantly on the look-out for American soldiers. From Kingston they sailed by schooner to York. When Dr. Strachan reached his destination he was to prove a force in the little town. There was much suffering, and due to his instrumentality "The Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada," which was to do so much to succour the afflicted, was formed. At length York capitulated and Dr. Strachan was of great service in caring for the sick and wounded and in saving property. It is said that, on one occasion, his life was threatened by an American soldier.

In the following year his old friend, Hon. Richard Cartwright, died, and so highly were his services appreciated that he was appointed a member of the Executive Council of Upper Canada. When the Hon. James McGill died he bequeathed £10,000 and a site for a University for the students of Montreal. Dr. Strachan was appointed a trustee. Mr. McGill, indeed, had intended that he should be the first principal.

When Mr. Robert Gourlay came to Canada in 1818 Dr. Strachan looked upon him as a black-sheep who had entered his well-regulated Tory fold, and he vehemently denounced the Scotch Radical. No doubt Gourlay was something of a fire-brand, but to him is due the credit for having initiated the Reform movement in Canada which was to culminate in Lord Durham's report.

For several years Dr. Strachan had been chaplain of the Legislative Council, but in 1820 he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council, and before he could take his seat had to resign the office of chaplain. He did this with some reluctance, as it meant financial loss to him.

He had now been in Canada for twenty-five years, and had become strongly identified with the life of the Province. He determined, however, to take a short rest, and in 1824 set out on a voyage to his native land. He was not to have a complete holiday, as he was deputed by the Lieutenant-Governor and his advisers to furnish the Home government with information relating to Upper Canada. He frequently met the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Under Secretary, and did good work for both Church and Province.

Education was still in a very backward condition in Upper Canada, and on his return from England he put forth strenuous efforts to improve affairs in this respect. As a result an Act was passed for the establishing of a Grammar school in each district of the Province, and very soon three excellent schools were doing good work in Cornwall, Kingston and Niagara. But the out-lying regions were still without proper schools. He continued his efforts and very soon a number of fairly good schools were established throughout the Province.

But he was not satisfied with this and desired to see higher education make its way in the Province. For this purpose he advocated the establishment of a University in Upper Canada. The authorities sympathized with him, and he was sent to England to consult the Home government. He succeeded beyond his expectations. A university was to be established with a good endowment and a Royal Charter. To the modern reader the charter granted seems decidedly illiberal, but it must be remembered that it was an advance on anything granted by the State to education up to that time. The charter was granted on the following terms:

"It was, therefore, provided that the seven Professors in the Arts and Faculties should be members of the Church of England, and should subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles; that the Bishop, for the time being, of the Diocese

in which the University was situate should be the Visitor; the Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, for the time being, the Chancellor; the President to be a clergyman in holy orders of the United Church of England and Ireland; and that the Archdeacon of York in this Province, for the time being, should, by virtue of such his office, be at all times the President of the said College."

In 1827, for Church purposes, Upper Canada was divided into two Archdeaconries. Dr. Stuart became Archdeacon of Kingston and Dr. Strachan, Archdeacon of York.

In the year following his promotion to the Archdeaconry of York, Dr. Strachan began the great battle of his life. At the election the Reform party had as their election cries Clergy Reserves and the University, and Dr. Strachan was foremost in the fight on behalf of the Church of England.

In 1832 Asiatic cholera reached America and swept through the whole of Canada. It was a time to try men, and Dr. Strachan proved himself a hero. He never shirked his duty and fearlessly visited the sick and dying. His services at this critical time were as much appreciated as they had been during the war of 1812, and the inhabitants of York presented him with a piece of plate in recognition of the work he had done during the trying months of the plague. In 1833 he was to receive another token of the respect in which he was held. His old pupils of the Cornwall School still held him in reverence, and presented him with a valuable piece of plate to show how highly he was esteemed by them. "This was a massive silver Épergné, value 230 guineas; the base of which, particularly chaste and elegant in proportions and design, supports four classical figures, representing Religion, History, Poetry and Geography; and surrounding a column around which twine the ivy and acanthus, the whole surmounted with a wreath. Within the square of the pedestal, not exposed to view, are engraven the names and place of residence of the gentlemen who presented this tribute." Among these names were such distinguished men as John Beverley Robinson, George Ridout, J. B. Macaulay, Jonas Jones and his biographer and successor in the See of Toronto, A. N. Bethune.

Archdeacon Strachan continued to put forth strenuous efforts on behalf of the Church, and among his other works was the establishment of a periodical, *The Church.*

He continued to occupy a place in the Legislative Council and his enemies strongly objected to this. They were making their influence felt with the Home government and Lord Ripon advised that the "Bishop of Regiopolis and the Archdeacon of York should altogether abstain from any interference in any secular matters which might be submitted in the Legislative Council." The Archdeacon of York was not one to give up what he considered to be a right without a battle, and he continued to take an active part in politics. However, matters were to undergo a change. The struggle which was going on at this time ended in the rebellion of 1837, and the Home government, through Lord Durham's report, saw the need of re-adjusting legislation in the Canadas to suit the growing needs of the country.

He was now to sustain, for the time being, what was to him a great personal loss. In 1839 the Church of St. James was burned, but the Archdeacon went to work with his usual energy and soon had a much more magnificent building rising from the ruins of the old church. In August of this same year he went to England, and was there consecrated the first Bishop of Toronto, and on the 22nd of December was installed in his new church, the Cathedral of St. James, which still stands a monument to his energy and zeal.

Mr. Poulett Thomson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, came to Canada to carry out the principles laid down in Lord Durham's Report. One of his first acts was to endeavor to settle the Clergy Reserves question. The message on this question sent down by the Governor-General was far from being satisfactory to the Bishop of Toronto, and he addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese pointing out that the step taken was "calculated to deprive the church of England in Canada of nearly three-fourths of her lawful property, to render clergy stipendiaries and depen lants on the Colonial government, and to foster and perpetuate endless division

and discord." However, the House of Assembly passed the Bill by a majority of twenty-eight to twenty, and the Governor-General believed that the question was now forever settled. He said with regard to the Bill:

"By the Bill which you have passed for the disposal of the Clergy Reserves, you have, so far as your constitutional powers admit, set at rest a question which, for years past, has convulsed society in this Province. In framing that measure, you have consulted alike the best interests of religion, and the future peace and welfare of the people, for whose services you are called upon to legislate; and I rely on your efforts proving successful, notwithstanding any attempt which may be made to renew excitement, or to raise opposition to your deliberate and recorded judgment."

Bishop Strachan's work was to make itself felt, and when the matter came up before the leading members of the Lords and Commons the Bill was to undergo radical change, and when finally passed, August 7, 1840, it was one that gave considerable satisfaction to the Bishop of Toronto. In considering this matter *The Church* newspaper was able to say: "It is with all well-disposed persons a subject for congratulation that a topic of grievance has thus been removed, and most heartily do we hope and pray that it will not soon be followed by another equally groundless and disquieting."

Dr. Strachan had for some years been agitating for a university. It had been deemed wise first to establish a school where pupils might qualify for the projected university, and Upper Canada College had resulted; but in 1842 the Bishop's desire was to be realized. In that year Charles Bagot, successor to Lord Sydenham, visited Toronto, and while there laid the corner-stone of King's College, and two months later the university of King's College was opened with fitting ceremony.

As Bishop of Toronto he had no sinecure. His work for the summer months of 1840 illustrates admirably the amount of labor he had to put forth on behalf of his widely-scattered diocese. Between June 10, and October 21, of that year he visited seventy-eight stations, confirmed 2,923 people, consecrated five churches and two burial grounds, and delivered 155 sermons and addresses. In doing this work he travelled 2,277 miles; and it must be remembered that he travelled, for the most part, over roads of the roughest type.

King's College was not to have a peaceful career. Scarcely was the corner-stone laid before the enemies of Dr. Strachan began to attack the institution. An attempt was made to remodel the College, and in 1848 when the Reformers were in power the name of King's College was dropped and that of the University of Toronto adopted. It was moreover decreed that there should be no faculty of divinity in the university, and that "there should be no professorship, lectureship or teachership of divinity within it."

Bishop Strachan now determined to work for the establishment of a Church University apart altogether from State Aid. He appealed to the clergy and laity of the diocese and headed a subscription list himself with a gift of £1,000. He endeavored to have Her Majesty's government disallow the act abolishing King's College. He failed in this, but succeeded in getting a charter for the new college he proposed to establish.

He was now an old man past the three score and ten, but he went to England and worked with such energy on behalf of his projected college, that he succeeded through the help of such men as Lord Seaton and Mr. Gladstone in raising the handsome sum of £15,000 for the new university. As a result of his efforts Trinity College was formally opened in January, 1852.

He continued for fifteen years more to work on behalf of his Church and the Province. He actively opposed the secularization of the Clergy Reserves in 1854, and in 1860 when the Prince of Wales visited Canada he was one of the most prominent figures at his reception.

When the Fenian Raid broke out he spoke with no feeble voice, but denounced the raiders as murderers and marauders. The end of his life was not far distant. He had been invited to attend the Pan-Anglican Conference of Bishops held at Lambert Place, September 24, 1867, but on account of his health was unable to do so. On October 19 he attended, for the last time, his beloved Cathedral, and on November 1, All Saints' Day, passed quietly away. He had been a force in the Church and State and friends and enemies felt that they should do him honor, and a public funeral was accorded the man who had based the education of Upper Canada, and who had done much to train many of the leading statesmen and business men of the Province.

CHAPTER XVII.

DR. EGERTON RYERSON.

Dr. Egerton Ryerson of United Empire Loyalist Stock—His Father Receives a Grant of Land in Upper Canada—Young Ryerson Early a Lover of Books—His Education—A Deeply Religious Nature—Joins the Methodist Communion—An Usher in the London District Grammar School—A Diligent Student—Returns to His Father's Farm—A Missionary to the Indians on the Credit—Crosses Swords with Archdeacon Strachan on the Clergy Reserves Question—His Attitude Towards the Church of England—The "Christian Guardian" Established—Goes to England in the Interests of the Canadian Methodist Church—Gives His Impressions of English Public Men—Denounced by William Lyon Mackenzie as an Apostate—His Active Opposition to the Rebellious Tendencies in Upper Canada—Sent to England in the Interests of Upper Canada Academy—His Words at the Close of the Patriots' War—His Battle with Sir Francis Bond Head over Grant to Upper Canada Academy—His Generosity to Political Opponents—Appointed Principal of Victoria College—Appointed Superintendent of Public Schools in Upper Canada—His Theory of Education—Establishes the "Journal of Education"—Completes his "History of the Loyalists of America and Their Times"—The Close of His Life.

A FITTING companion study for Bishop Strachan is that of Dr. Egerton Ryerson. They were both scholarly men, both strong and somewhat stubborn men, and both were animated with a zeal for God and an exalted patriotism. In many ways they were, however, diametrically opposed to each other.

Dr. Ryerson was of United Empire Loyalist stock, his father having fought in the British army during the War of the Revolution. Much of Dr. Ryerson's austerity of character was inherited from his mother, who was a descendant of one of the earliest settlers in Massachusetts. When the War of the Revolution came to a close, and the Thirteen Colonies were victors in the struggle, Ryerson, with many other loyal Britishers, settled in New Brunswick. It was in these first years of his settlement in British North America that he met his wife. Not finding the climate or the soil of New Brunswick congenial, however, and attracted by the excellent offers held out

HON. GEORGE W. ROSS, LL.D.

to settlers in Canada the United Empire Loyalist journeyed westward ; and with a pension, which he received from the British government, and a grant of some twenty-five hundred acres of land, he could be considered fairly well-to-do, even if his property was, for the most part, forest land. From the beginning he was a figure of some prominence in Upper Canada, and in 1800 was appointed High Sheriff of the London district. He held this office until 1806, but by this time his farm was demanding all his attention, and for the future he devoted his entire energies to agriculture.

His son Egerton was born in 1803. He was soon a sturdy lad, and from his earliest years was an energetic worker on his father's farm. He early developed a love for books, and was encouraged by both his parents in his studies. The schools in Western Canada were, at the beginning of the century, exceedingly wretched institutions, taught, for the most part, by men who had failed in every other walk in life. Fortunately, however, young Ryerson had the advantage of an excellent teacher. Mr. James Mitchell, in scholarship and ability as an instructor, was a man second only to Dr. Strachan, and the care he devoted to his brilliant young pupil was not lost.

From Egerton Ryerson's boyhood days he showed a strength of character and depth of feeling beyond his years. At the age of twelve he became deeply religious and continued a zealous follower of Christ until the end of his life. His own reminiscent words with regard to this stage of his career show well how deep and mature a nature his was even when a boy :

"At the close of the American War, in 1815, when I was twelve years of age, my three elder brothers, George, William and John, became deeply religious and I imbibed the same spirit. My consciousness of guilt and sinfulness was humbling, oppressive and distressing ; and my experience of relief, after lengthened fastings, watchings and prayers, was clear, refreshing and joyous. In the end I simply trusted in Christ, and looked to Him for a present salvation ; and as I looked up in my bed, the light appeared to my mind, and, as I thought, to my bodily eye also, in the form of One, white-robed, who approached the bedside with a smile, and with more of the expression of the countenance of Titian's Christ than of any person whom I

have ever seen. I turned, rose to my knees, bowed my head, and covered my face, rejoiced with trembling, saying to a brother who was lying beside me, that the Saviour was now near us. The change within was more marked than anything without, and perhaps the inward change may have suggested what appeared an outward manifestation. I henceforth had new views, new feelings, new joys, and new strength. I truly delighted in the law of the Lord, after the inward man, and

'Jesus, all the day long, was my joy and my song.'

"From that time I became a diligent student, and new quickness and strength seemed to be imparted to my understanding and memory. While working on the farm I did more than an ordinary day's work, that it might show how industrious, instead of lazy, as some said, religion made a person. I studied between three and six o'clock in the morning, carried a book in my pocket during the day to improve odd moments by reading or learning, and then reviewed my studies of the day aloud while walking out in the evening."

For several years young Ryerson was attracted by the Methodists, a decidedly unpopular body among the United Empire Loyalists of Upper Canada. At length, when eighteen years of age, he felt so strongly that he joined their communion much against the wishes of his father, who said to him that he must either leave them or leave his house. Egerton had no hesitation in making his choice. He was the stuff that martyrs are made of, and he went forth to face the battle of life for himself accompanied by his mother's prayers. He was fortunate in getting a position as usher in the London District Grammar School. Much of the teaching in this institution fell upon him and he proved himself an efficient instructor.

He gave considerable of his time to the classics, but was attracted more by books of a philosophical bent. In the meantime his father was feeling his loss to the farm keenly, and at length requested him to come home. He did so and showed that his two years with books had taken away nothing from his power as a farm laborer. However, he could not rest satisfied with plowing, and digging, and planting, and felt that work was laid upon him which could only be accomplished by continuing his life as a student.

He determined to enter the Methodist ministry, and for this purpose went to Hamilton where there was a good school. He overworked himself, was prostrated with sickness and had a narrow escape from death. His father was anxious that he should once more assist him with his farm, but Egerton felt that the "vows of God" were upon him, and "after long and painful struggles" decided to devote his "life and all to the ministry of the Methodist Church."

The early part of his ministerial career was far from being easy. He had to travel much on horse-back and on foot over rough regions and to minister to people poor in the extreme. He was early appointed a missionary to the Indians on the Credit and to some extent lived their lives, sleeping in their wigwams on a rough mat-covered plank for a couch. He desired a suitable place of worship for his rude congregation and he appealed to the Indians themselves and found them willing contributors.

But by far the most interesting incident of his early ministerial career was his controversy over the Clergy Reserves with Archdeacon Strachan. The Archdeacon was the champion of the Church of England against all other Churches, but particularly against the Methodists, whom he looked upon as interlopers, introducing a life and ideas out of keeping with the British constitution and British institutions. He made a vigorous attack on all dissenting bodies and the Methodists felt so keenly on account of the references made against themselves that they looked about for some suitable person to reply to the strong language of their brilliant enemy. Young Ryerson was chosen for the work, and made a reply that startled the friends of the Established Church and convinced many of the righteousness of his contentions. Once more his poor father was deeply grieved at the position his son was taking in the country, and when he learned that Egerton was the author of the attack upon Archdeacon Strachan he felt as though his son was hopelessly lost and was dragging down his family with him. However, it was a mere battle for the right. Egerton Ryerson had lost none of his affection for the Church of England, but he believed that the Church with which he had associated his life was better able to do good work in the Colonies.

During his controversy with Dr. Strachan he stated very clearly his attitude towards the Church out of whose fold he had come.

"Whatever remarks the Doctor's discourse may require me to make, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I mean no reflection on the doctrines, liturgy or discipline of the Church of which he has the honor to be a minister. Be assured I mean no such thing. I firmly believe in her doctrines, I admire her liturgy, and I heartily rejoice in the success of those principles which are therein contained, and it is for the prosperity of the truths which they unfold that I shall ever pray and contend. And, with respect to Church government I heartily adopt the sentiments of the pious and the learned Bishop Burnet, that that form of Church government is the best which is most suitable to the customs and circumstances of the people among whom it is established."

Shortly after the beginning of the Clergy Reserves controversy, in which he took such an active part, he was asked to accept ordination in the Church of England. He refused, as he felt he had a wider field of usefulness in the Methodist body. The struggle for religious liberty on which he had entered was by no means won. It is true the Legislative Assembly were, for the most part, with him, but the Legislative Council, the official class in the Province, and the Lieutenant-Governor was bitterly opposed to him. However, he was the kind of man whom opposition only made stronger and more determined. The cause he was advocating required a newspaper to advance its interests, and so the *Christian Guardian* was established in 1829; and he became its joint editor and shortly afterwards had entire editorial charge. He wrote ably in the interests of reform and the Methodist Church and gained many admirers especially among the Liberals of the Province.

He went to England on Church business and found that English public men were antagonistic to the Methodists. They had been mis-informed with regard to them and looked upon them as a class in the community un-British,—indeed, disloyal to England and hoping for the advance of American institutions. He was able to disabuse the minds of those with whom he came in contact, and did not a little to pave the way for the work that was afterwards to be done by Lord Durham and Lord Sydenham. When

he returned from England he once more took over the editorship of the *Christian Guardian* and now began a series of articles dealing with his impressions of English public men. They were written in his usual vigorous style and with a good deal of feeling. He saw through most of the extremists who were professedly working in the interests of the Colony and vigorously denounced them. As a result of his utterances at this time he called down upon him the wrath of William Lyon Mackenzie, who denounced him as an "apostate" to the cause of reform. Many readers of the *Christian Guardian* ceased looking to the paper for guidance and Dr. Ryerson gave up the editorship of it in June, 1835. After events proved that he was, for the most part, correct in his attitude towards public men and public questions. Through the columns of the *Christian Guardian* he tried to do what "Joe" Howe did by means of the *Nova Scotian* in the Maritime Provinces, and had there been many men of Dr. Ryerson's stamp in Upper Canada, the unhappy rebellion of 1837 might have been averted.

Although still a young man he had done admirable work for the Methodist Church. When he had entered the ministry there were but forty-one ministers in the Province and less than seven thousand church members. But in 1835 there were ninety-three ministers and fifteen thousand church members. He had really been the guiding spirit of Methodism since he began his ministry. When he gave up the editorship of the *Guardian* in his valedictory he stated his attitude towards State and Church.

"I have," he said, "no ill-will towards any human being. I freely and heartily forgive the many false and wicked things said of me, publicly and privately. I have written what I thought best for the cause of religion, the cause of Methodism, and the civil interests of the country. I have never received one acre of land, nor one farthing from Government, nor of any public money. I have never written one line at the request of any person connected with the Government. I count it to be the highest honor to which I can aspire to be a Methodist preacher; and in this relation to the Church and to the world I shall count it my highest joy to finish my earthly course."

After severing his connection with the *Guardian* he was stationed at Kingston. As Kingston was a Tory stronghold he expected to make many enemies there; but, as he was at this time held in ill-repute by the Radicals, his attitude on the Clergy Reserves seems to have been almost forgotten. At any rate he was kindly received by the people of Kingston and made many "warm friendships." He entered heart and soul into his ministry and met with the fullest measure of success. He was in every way a strong man, and whether he worked on his father's farm, entered into a controversy, contributed articles to the press or ministered the gospel, he did it with an energy that never failed of his purpose. He was not to remain long in Kingston. The rapidly growing Methodist body in Upper Canada demanded better educational facilities than they had at that time. They wished to have a college of their own in which their ministers might be trained. To bring this about it would be necessary to send a delegate to England to obtain a charter and raise funds. There could be no doubt as to what man should be sent. Egerton Ryerson was easily the ablest and shrewdest business man in the Methodist Church in Upper Canada, and so towards the end of 1836 he set out a second time for the Old Land. He was eminently successful in his mission, and before he left England, early in 1837, had succeeded in inducing the Imperial government to recommend a grant by the Upper Canada Legislature to Upper Canada Academy. He did not return to Canada until June, 1837. Affairs were in a very much disturbed condition. Rebellion broke out and was opposed by him from first to last, and his attitude did not a little to keep the men of Upper Canada loyal at a time when British institutions were threatened in North America.

He had been warned that it would be dangerous for him to visit Toronto, but when he arrived in the town about the middle of December the rebellion had already been put down. In a letter to his father he clearly sets forth his own attitude towards the "Patriots' War." He had been consistent from the commencement in his articles dealing with the revolutionary tendency in the Province and had now nothing to take back.

"It is remarkable," he wrote, "that every man, with very few exceptions, who has left our Church and joined in the unprincipled crusade which has been made against us, has either been an active promoter of this plot or so far connected with it as to be ruined in his character and prospects by the timely discovery and defeat of it. I have been deeply affected at hearing of some unhappy examples, among old acquaintances, of this description. I feel thankful that I have been enabled to do my duty from the beginning in this matter. Four years ago, I perceived and began, to warn the public of the revolutionary tendency and spirit of Mackenzie's proceedings. Perhaps you may recollect that in a long article in the *Guardian*, four years ago this winter, headed 'Revolutionary Symptoms,' I pointed out, to the great displeasure of even some of my friends, what has come to pass.

"It is also a matter of thankfulness that every one of our family and marriage connections, near and remote, is on the side of law, reason and religion in this affair. Such indications of the Divine goodness are a fresh encouragement to me to renew my covenant engagement with my gracious Redeemer, to serve Him and His cause with greater zeal and faithfulness."

Sir Francis Bond Head had been instructed by Lord Glenelg to bring the matter of the Upper Canada Academy before the Legislature. This was done, and the Assembly granted $16,400 to the Academy. The Legislative Council defeated the purposes of the bill. Sir Francis Bond Head delayed payment of the money, and it was not until after the return of Dr. Ryerson to Canada, and a vigorous advocacy of the cause of the Academy, that justice was finally done in this case.

He had not been in sympathy with the spirit of the rebellion, but signed a petition for the mitigation of the death sentence of Lount and Mathews. He vigorously defended Bidwell, who had made an enemy of Sir Francis Bond Head, and later in life was generous to even such an extreme Radical as William Lyon Mackenzie. After the suppression of the rebellion he was urged to once more take the editorship of the *Guardian*. This he did in July, 1838, and continued to write what he believed "to be the truth, leaving to others the exercise of a judgment equally unbiased and free."

He took charge of the *Guardian* at a critical time in the history of Canada, a time when a strong man was needed to assist in fighting the battle for representative institutions. It was a time when those who fought for representative government and against the exclusive claims of the representatives of the Church of England were denounced as rebels and republicans, and it was well that the *Guardian* had in its editorial chair a man whose loyalty could not be impugned, and who had so early in his career shown the sanity of his views on the question of reform.

In 1841 he was to enter upon a new sphere of usefulness. Lord Sydenham gave the royal assent to a bill for the erection of Upper Canada Academy into a College with University powers. Dr. Ryerson, as the ablest man in the Methodist body, was appointed principal of the new (Victoria) College, and he was installed as principal in June, 1842. He continued to take an active part in public affairs, and during the struggle between Sir Charles Metcalfe and his constitutional advisers he took the part of Sir Charles and wrote a series of nine articles in his defence. He believed that his Excellency's exertions "would be crowned with a glorious victory to his own credit, the honor of the British Crown, the strengthening of our connection with the motherland and to the great future benefit of Canada." Dr. Strachan could hardly have written in a more loyal vein. Naturally many of the Reformers looked upon Dr. Ryerson as having gone over to the Tories; but they did not understand the man. The spirit that made him attack the extreme Radicals before the Rebellion was the same that made him rush to the defence of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

In 1844 Dr. Ryerson was appointed Superintendent of Public Schools in Upper Canada, and is truly the father of the Ontario Public School System. Until 1876 he continued to work energetically on behalf of the education of the Province. He made no fewer than five tours of inspection in Europe and the United States, and visited such centres of education as England, Belgium, France, Prussia, etc. As a result of his first visit he prepared a report on a "system of public instruction for Upper Canada," and shows in this report that he had the true conception of education.

THE HON. SIR JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON

CHARLES POULETT THOMSON, FIRST LORD SYDENHAM

"By education," he wrote, "I mean not the mere acquisition of certain arts, or of certain branches of knowledge, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects of it for their appropriate duties and appointments in life, as Christians, as persons in business, and also as members of the civil community in which they live.

"A basis of educational structure adapted to this end should be as broad as the population of the country; and its loftiest elevation should equal the highest demands of the learned professions; adapting its graduation of schools to the wants of the several classes of the community, and to their respective employments or professions, the one rising above the other—the one conducting to the other; yet each complete in itself for the degree of education it imparts; a character of uniformity, as to fundamental principles, pervading the whole: the whole based upon the principles of Christianity, and uniting the combined influence and support of the government and the people.

"The branches of knowledge which it is essential that all should understand, should be provided for all, and taught to all; should be brought within the reach of the most needy, and forced upon the attention of the most careless. The knowledge required for the scientific pursuit of mechanics, agriculture and commerce, must needs be provided to an extent corresponding with the demands and exigencies of the country; while, to a more limited extent, are needed facilities for acquiring the higher education of the learned professions."

Towards the ideals laid down in this report he worked during the remainder of his life and those who now control the educational affairs of the Province are but building on the foundation laid by Dr. Ryerson. In 1848 he established the *Journal of Education* and for twenty-eight years continued to edit it, but, in 1876, the government, in its wisdom, saw fit to abolish the Chief Superintendent's office and re-organize the Education Department with a Minister of Education at its head. Dr. Ryerson then retired into private life, but he could not remain idle. He had, indeed, for twenty years been engaged on his exhaustive work, the *History of the Loyalists of America and their Times*, and he now set himself industriously to complete it, and in

1880 this celebrated book was published. He had now not long to live. "Gradually the weary wheels of life stood still," to quote the words of the editor of his *Story of My Life*, "and at seven o'clock February 19, 1882, in the presence of his loved ones and dear friends gently and peacefully the spirit of Egerton Ryerson took its flight to be forever with the Lord."

CHAPTER XVIII.

LORD DURHAM.

Lord Durham a Londoner—Educated at Eton School—Enters the Army—Shows Marked Ability on Public Questions—In the House of Commons—In the House of Lords—Lord Privy Seal in the Grey Administration—Appointed Minister to St. Petersburg—The Rebellion of 1837 in Canada—Lord Durham Chosen to Save the Situation—The Causes of Discontent in Upper Canada—The End of the Quixotic Rising Under Mackenzie—The President of the United States Forbids American Citizens to Aid the Canadian Rebels—The Causes of the Rebellion in Lower Canada—The Leaders in the Rebellion—The Conflict at St. Denis—The Death of Lieutenant Weir—The Cruel Slaughter of the Rebels of St. Eustache—The Bishop of Montreal Pathetically Sums Up the Results of the Rebellion—The English Government Takes Action—Earl of Durham Appointed to Clear up Matters in British North America—Proceeds to Canada with Considerable Pomp and Display—His Arrival at Quebec—Proves Himself Firm Yet Generous—Mr. Charles Buller's Good Work—Lord Durham's Treatment of the Rebels—His Action Disallowed by the Home Government—Indignantly Resigns Office—The Effects of the English Parliament's Action on the Canadian Situation—Lord Durham Returns to England Without Having Obtained Leave—His Conduct Investigated by the House—His Able Report on Canadian Affairs—His Early Death.

THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE LAMBTON, first Earl of Durham, although residing for but a few brief months in Canada, had as much to do with the making of the great Dominion as any other of her statesmen. He came to this country for a special purpose,—to clear up a difficult situation created by decades of jealousy and hatred; and although he was not to live to see the full fruits of his work with regard to the Canadas, his ideas were to prevail and the future of the country was to be built on the foundation of his celebrated Report.

Lord Durham was a native of London, born in Berkeley Square, on April 12, 1792. He received his early education at Eton School, but when only seventeen years old entered the army and remained at military service for only one year,—probably the severe discipline was irksome to his haughty and insubordinate spirit. He early took an interest in public questions, and showed marked ability as a publicist, and was elected to the

House of Commons in the Whig interests at the age of twenty-one. From the beginning of his public career, while showing much power, he likewise displayed much weakness. He was unable to brook opposition, and his hot temper and reckless language made him many enemies. In 1828 he was elevated to the peerage and took his seat in the House of Lords. In the Grey administration he became Lord Privy Seal, but after quarreling with his friends resigned office. He continued to be a source of fear to his enemies and of anxiety to his political friends, but despite his stormy nature had a magnetism that gave many confidence in him and made them believe that in time his future would be a brilliant one.

However, it was deemed best by those in authority to give him a foreign appointment where he would, in all probability, have a clear field to himself, and so in 1835 he was chosen as Minister to St. Petersburg, but those who did not like him questioned the wisdom of this appointment and in anger he resigned. In 1837, when Queen Victoria ascended the English throne she showed her appreciation of Lord Durham's ability by creating him a G.C.B. When she began her rule Canada was in a much disturbed condition, and it was not long before the sword was drawn on behalf of responsible government. A strong, well-balanced mind was needed to save the situation in a land where there were not only two political parties at civil strife, but where two distinct nationalities were bitterly opposing each other. It would be no easy matter to shape the destiny of England's greatest Colony. The acts already passed only seemed to have created feuds. It now seems strange that a man of Lord Durham's record should have been chosen to deal with such a critical situation. His ability was undoubted, but his hot temper was not suited to circumstances that demanded calmness and equipoise of character.

The causes of the social dissatisfaction that ultimately ended in rebellion were deep-seated, and some of them were as old, indeed, as the War of the Revolution; but what is generally known as the "Family Compact" was largely to blame for the state of affairs that led to the rebellious outbreak under the leadership of a few hot-headed Radicals such as William Lyon Mackenzie. Sprinkled throughout Upper Canada were many officials who

had fought under Simcoe and other British leaders and who had, in not a few cases, made big sacrifices to live under the British flag they so dearly loved. Along with these were other Britishers who had come to Canada as settlers after the opening up of the Upper Province. These men, in many cases, looked upon the original settlers, and, indeed, on many of the United Empire Loyalists, with more or less scorn. The spoils of office fell into the hands of these two classes, and in all places of trust and power were men who had but little sympathy with the democratic life slowly but surely asserting itself in British North America. Many of these officials were related, or became so by marriage, and endeavored to keep all patronage within their own little circle. What they had suffered, or what they thought they had suffered in the past for the country they now ruled, their work, or the work of their ancestors during the War of the Revolution or the War of 1812, and the the power they were now exercising, gave them a feeling of ownership in the Province. In this feeling they were encouraged by such brilliant scholars and astute thinkers as Bishop Strachan, who, despite his humble origin, had little toleration with the democratic spirit. Gradually, through the opening decades of the century, affairs went from bad to worse. Hot words were exchanged. There were but few men to reason with the Radicals, and such men as Mackenzie and Gourlay were not prepared to listen to reason. At length a rising was planned, and the authorities stood aloof and allowed it to come to a head.

"The rebels were to convene at a spot a few miles north of Toronto on Yonge street, on a certain day (7th December, 1837), armed with pikes and such arms as might be gathered at their homes. They were to march into the city at night, take possession of the arms in the City Hall, and then seize the person of the Lieutenant-Governor, and any others who resisted their proceedings. They expected many of the citizens to at once join their force, and others to remain quiet. A new Government was to be organized (a Republican Government), and Dr. Rolph was already selected to occupy the office of President. Thereafter, it was believed, the people of the Province would bow in submission to the newly-constituted administration."

This little force of some eight hundred men without funds, without arms, without leaders, as was to be expected, fled before the body of militia that was sent out against them. A more quixotic rising never took place. The leaders escaped to the United States, and the blackest stain on the career of William Lyon Mackenzie was the appeal made to the Americans for help. But now that the authorities had taken the matter up they showed themselves ready to grapple with the serious situation that had arisen, and the destruction by Lieutenant Drew of the "Caroline," which was carrying stores from the United States for the rebels on Navy Island, showed that the Canadians would brook no outside interference. However, there was little danger from the United States, as within a month of the rebel gathering at Montgomery's Tavern, the President of the United States issued a proclamation forbidding American citizens to aid the rebels in arms against the Canadian government.

While affairs were thus in Upper Canada they were still more serious in the Lower Province. The majority of the inhabitants had genuine grievances, and these were intensified by race hatred against the dominant class. Three years previously ninety-two resolutions, containing the grievances of which the French Canadians complained, were sent to England, and many of these were genuine ones, and yet there seemed no redress. Mr. N. E. Dionne thus enumerates the causes of the outbreak in the Province of Quebec as follows:

"1. The vicious composition of the Legislative Council, of which the Judges of the Court of Appeal were members.

"2. The participation by the appointed Legislative Councillors in popular elections.

"3. The hostility of the Legislative Council towards the Legislative Assembly and *vice versa*.

"4. The accumulation of public offices in the hands of certain favorites of the Administration.

"5. The inadequate distribution of public offices.

"6. The distribution of public lands amongst friends of the Government to the detriment of colonization.

"7. The too frequent checking of the passage of Bills adopted by the Assembly.

"8. The need for the people of a greater liberty and a responsible ministry."

In Lower Canada were a number of brilliant men, but, like the leaders in Upper Canada, they lacked balance. When these men saw that there was little hope of the immediate redress of the grievances suffered by their Province they could not wait patiently, but began to incite the people to rebellion. Among them were such orators as Dr. Wolfred Nelson, Dr. Coté and M. Marchesseau. The press of the country was, for the most part, with them. However, one paper, at least, *Le Canadien*, pointed out the folly of resorting to arms. The Church, too, gave its warning, but the popular leaders held their meetings in different parts of the Province and M. Papineau denounced, in violent language that could only lead to rebellion, the tyranny of the ruling body. Violence began in November in the streets of Montreal and the flames of rebellion soon spread to other parts of the Province. On the 23rd of the month an attack was made on the rebels in St. Denis and the government forces were compelled to retreat. It was at this time that Lieutenant Weir was murdered—an act which did much to cause the unfortunate rebels later to receive such brutal treatment at the hands of Sir John Colborne and his forces.

Determined efforts were now to be made to crush the rebellion. St. Charles and St. Denis were captured and at St. Eustache, where a comparatively small body of rebels had taken shelter in a church, a cruel and bloody slaughter took place. The rebellion was effectually stamped out and the rebel leaders were in flight.

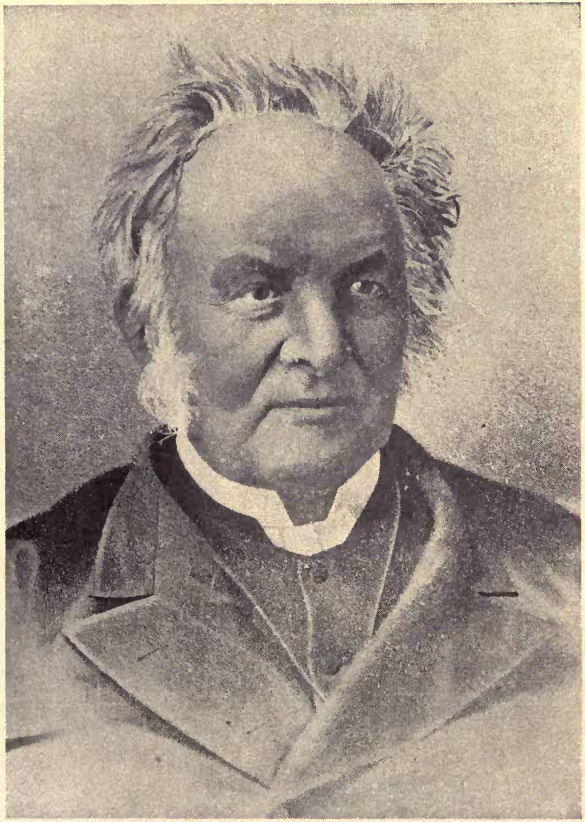
The immediate results of this appeal to arms is thus pathetically given in the words of the Bishop of Montreal. "What misery, what desolation, is spread broadcast through many of our fields and homes since the scourge of civil war has ravaged a happy country where abundance and joy reigned with order and safety, before brigands and rebels by force of sophistries and lies had led astray a part of the population. What remains to you of their grand promises? Was it the desire of the majority of the people, who,

according to these principles, should control everything in the State, to go into armed conflict? Was there any general concurrence in the operations of the insurgents? Are you free, when in menacing you with all sorts of taxation, with incendiarism, with the loss of all your property, with death itself if you did not submit to their frightful despotism, they forced more than half of the small number who took arms against our august Sovereign to march against her victorious armies?"

The words of the Bishop were in a sense too true and yet the misguided patriots had not died in vain. England, slow to move in time of peace, now moved rapidly and the government determined to thoroughly investigate the situation, and provisions were to be made to prevent the possibility of such an outbreak in the future.

When news of the insurrection reached England Lord John Russell in the House of Commons moved "for leave to bring in a bill by which, for a certain time, the calling of an Assembly in Lower Canada, which was incumbent on the government, for the time being, might be suspended and authority be given to meet the present emergency, and to provide for the future government of the Province." It was the duty of the government "to send to British North America a man conversant with matters of administration, with the most important matters which are, from time to time, brought before parliament as well as with the affairs of the various states of Europe and, moreover, that it should be implied by his nomination that he was favorable to popular feeling and popular rights." The Earl of Durham, a noble Radical, was chosen for the task of investigating affairs in the great English colony across the Atlantic, and he proceeded to Canada with the hope of restoring the supremacy of the law, and expressing the wish that he might be "the humble instrument of conferring upon the British North America provinces such a free and liberal constitution as shall place them on the same scale of independence as the rest of the possessions of Great Britain."

Many in England expected to see Lord Durham make a muddle of affairs in Canada. For a Radical he made a bad beginning. He was proceeding to a poor country and a democratic country, largely affected by the republican



THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, D.D.

THE RT. REV. DR. JOHN STRACHAN

ideas of the United States, and yet he went with a pomp and display that aristocrats delight in. His vessel was richly fitted out and he had with him a large retinue of servants, and on the voyage across was accompanied by a band of musicians to help pass the time merrily. If he went bearing the palm branch he was careful to have the sword at least ready to be unsheathed in case of any opposition to his rule. Two regiments of Royal Guards and some Hussars went with him. He reached Quebec on May 27, but did not land until the 29th, by which time preparations had been completed to give him a royal welcome. In his proclamation on landing he declared that "all disturbers of the peace," "all violaters of the law," "all enemies to the Crown and the British Empire" would find in him an uncompromising opponent; but he likewise invited "the most free and unreserved communication from the people of British North America, and begged them to consider him as a friend and an arbitrator ready to listen at all times to their complaints and grievances; for, as he said, he was fully determined to act with the strictest impartiality.

He was fortunate in having with him at this time Mr. Charles Buller, a pupil of Thomas Carlyle's, a man of sound sense and great ability; indeed the historian has very great difficulty in telling just how much of Durham's work was done by Buller.

For a time things went smoothly and it looked as if Lord Durham was to meet with no great difficulty in remedying affairs in Canada. June 28, 1838, was the day fixed for the coronation of Queen Victoria, and on this day he proclaimed an amnesty for all political offences committed during the rebellion. He made an exception with regard to some of the leaders, such as Wolfred Nelson, R. S. Bouchette and others, who were to be exiled to Bermuda; of Louis Joseph Papineau, Dr. O'Callaghan and George Etienne Cartier and some thirteen others who had fled to the United States and who were threatened with death if they attempted to return of their own accord. This was a somewhat high-handed piece of business from a British point of view. Lord Brougham indignantly protested against it, declaring that these men had been condemned to death when not one of them had been previously

tried. "Such a proceeding," he said, "was contrary to the spirit of English law which humanely supposed every accused party to be innocent until he was proved guilty."

Apart from the legal aspect of the affair Lord Durham's action was in the best interests of the case. The rebels had expected harsher terms and were glad to be let off so lightly. But his attempt at a remedy was to be suddenly checked by the action of the Home Government. The ordinance of Lord Durham was disallowed by Her Majesty's government.

Lord Durham was indignant at the treatment meted out to one who had come to Canada armed, as he thought, with the highest authority, and determined to resign his office. On the 9th of October he issued a proclamation, which, according to Knight, "was a humiliating abrogation of the ordinance of the 28th of June." He then took a step which was, to say the least, decidedly unwise. It was his duty to remain in Canada until he received leave to return, but he now decided to desert his post without awaiting the sanction of the Home government. In his reply to an address given him by the French residents of Quebec he gave the following as the reason for his return :

"The proceedings in the House of Lords, acquiesced in by the Ministry, have deprived the government in this province of all moral power and consideration. They have reduced it to a state of executive nullity, and rendered it dependent on one branch of the Imperial legislature for the immediate sanction of each separate measure. In truth and in effect, the government here is now administered by two or three peers from their seats in parliament. . . . .

"In this novel and anomalous state of things, it would neither be for your advantage nor mine, that I should remain here. My post is, where your interests are really decided upon. In parliament I can defend your rights, declare your wants and wishes, and expose the impolicy and cruelty of proceedings, which whilst they are too liable to the imputation of having originated in personal animosity and party feeling, are also fraught with imminent danger to the welfare of these important colonies, to the permanence of their connection with the British empire."

The direction of affairs in the colony was left in the hands of Sir John Colborne. The differences between Lord Durham and the Home government had a decidedly dangerous tendency, and it looked for a time as if rebellion might break out again. But rebellion could not gather head and the severe measures adopted by Sir John Colborne frightened many of the malcontents into submission.

When Lord Durham reached England he was in ill-health and the blow he had received seemed to have completely undermined his constitution. Lord Brougham's attack upon him found many supporters in England, where anything bordering on an illegal exercise of authority was frowned down upon. However, he had defenders who believed that his policy, under the circumstances, was the correct one. He certainly had, in the brief time he was in Canada, grasped the situation fully, told the causes, and at least, suggested the remedy. In his celebrated Report he said: "From first to last I have discerned in these dissensions which fill the parliamentary history of Lower Canada, that the Assembly has always been at war with the Council relative to powers which are essential to be possessed by the former through the very nature of representative institutions." He had a remedy to present, and in his Report proposed "that the Crown should give up all its revenues, except those derived from land sales, in exchange for a proper civil list. That all civil officers should be made responsible to the legislature, the governor and secretary always excepted; that the independence of the judges should be recognized; and, further, that the heads of ministerial departments should be bound to govern in accordance with the wishes of the majority in the two Chambers."

The most interesting part of the Report was that in which he dealt with the great race question. He saw, perhaps more clearly than any other man sent by England to govern in this country, that the greatest difficulty the Canadian people had to contend with was not a political one but a racial one. He feared for the future of the country and wrote a vigorous warning against permitting the French element to dominate the British Colony. The following extracts from his Report well show how strongly he felt with regard to this matter:

"Without going so far as to accuse the Assembly of a deliberate design to check the settlement and improvement of Lower Canada, it cannot be denied that they looked with considerable jealousy and dislike on the increase and prosperity of what they regarded as a foreign and hostile race; they looked on the Province as the patrimony of their own race; they viewed it not as a country to be settled, but as one already settled; and instead of legislating in the American spirit, and first providing for the future population of the Province, their primary care was, in the spirit of legislation which prevails in the Old World, to guard the interests and feelings of the present race of inhabitants to whom they considered the new-comers as subordinate. They refused to increase the burdens of the country by imposing taxes to meet the expenditure required for improvement, and they also refused to direct to that object any of the funds previously devoted to other purposes. The improvement of the harbour at Montreal was suspended from a political antipathy to a leading English merchant who had been the most active of the Commissioners, and by whom it had been conducted with the most admirable success. It is but just to say that some of the works which the Assembly authorized and encouraged were undertaken on a scale of due moderation and satisfactorily perfected and brought into operation. Others, especially the great communications which I have mentioned above, the Assembly showed a great reluctance to promote or even permit.

"The treasonable attempt of the French party to carry its political objects into effect by an appeal to arms brought these hostile races into general and armed collision. I will not dwell on the melancholy scenes exhibited in the progress of the contest, or the fierce passions which held an unchecked sway during the insurrection or immediately after its suppression. It is not difficult to conceive how greatly the evils, which I have described as previously existing have been aggravated by the war; how terror and revenge nourished in each portion of the population a bitter and irreconcilable hatred to each other, and to the institutions of the country. The French population who had for some time exercised a great and increasing power through the medium of the House of Assembly, found their hopes unexpectedly prostrated in the dust. The physical force which they had vaunted was called into

action and proved to be utterly inefficient. The hopes of recovering their previous ascendency under a constitution, similar to that suspended, almost ceased to exist. Removed from all actual share in the government of their country, they brood in sullen silence over the memory of their fallen countrymen, of their burnt villages, of their ruined property, of their extinguished ascendency and their humbled nationality. To the Government and the English they ascribe these wrongs and nourish against both an indiscriminating and eternal animosity."

Had he remained in Canada for a longer period he no doubt would have modified his opinion with regard to the French race. But his Report was to be of great value, and the difficulties he pointed out, sometimes with exaggeration, helped Lord Sydenham and Lord Elgin and others to steer clear of the rocks and shoals.

His work in Canada practically ended his public career. On July 26, 1839, he made his last speech in defence of his Canadian policy. In the following year, at the age of forty-eight, on July 28, death ended a career which, despite its many failures, had in it still much of promise.

CHAPTER XIX.

LORD SYDENHAM.

The Early Career of Poulett Thomson—Begins Business Life in St. Petersburg—Physical Collapse and a lengthy Visit to the Health Resorts of Europe—A Fine Linguist—In an English Counting-House—Further Residence in Russia—One of the Keenest-Sighted and Most Polished Young Men of his Time—A Friend of Mr. Huskisson's—Becomes a Candidate for the Borough of Dover—His Business Friends Opposed to this Step—A Power in the House of Commons—His Attitude Towards Free Trade—Appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade—An Able Parliamentarian and Diplomat—Takes an Interest in the Canadian Situation Created by the Rebellion of 1837—Given a Choice between the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the Government of Canada—Goes to Canada as Governor-General—Confident of Being Able to Grapple with the Critical Situation in British North America—Finds the People Friendly towards Him—A Strong Antipathy towards him among the Tories of Upper Canada—Working for the Union—His Triumphant Words with Regard to his Success—Deals with the Clergy Reserves Question—Stands Aloof from both Political Parties—The Union Proclaimed—Suffers from Ill-Health—Meets with a Fatal Accident—His Death.

MR. CHARLES EDWARD POULETT THOMSON was to follow in the wake of Lord Durham to endeavor to settle the difficulties that the noble and eccentric Lord had failed to settle, or, to be more just, had been prevented from settling by the interference of the Home government with his actions in British North America. Poulett Thomson, as he is known to Canadian historians, was the son of an English merchant. He was born at Waverley September 13, 1799. His life, therefore, began with the last century. He received his education not in any of the large public schools but at a small private school. His father's business was an extensive one and had an important branch at St. Petersburg. Young Thomson was early taken from school and sent to that wealthy and fashionable city to begin a business career. While in St. Petersburg, on this his first visit, although a lad of only sixteen, he continued to improve his mind and to mingle freely with the society life of the city. However, after two years' residence his health broke down and he was obliged to return to his native land. He made but a brief sojourn in England and then visited

the continent where he spent nearly a year in the pleasure and health resorts of Italy, Switzerland and France. The rest and change of climate completely restored him to health and he returned to London to begin once more a mercantile life.

Although he had been taken from school at the early age of sixteen he had an excellent equipment for the battle of life. He had been ever a close reader and during his residence in Russia, Germany, Italy and France had set himself assiduously to the study of the languages of these countries and spoke them with great fluency. He felt that he was fitted for something higher than a counting-house and, anxious to put his fine linguistic powers to use, sought employment on some foreign embassy. However, this was not to be and he remained in London at his desk for several years. His business abilities were recognized in the house and he was given a partnership, and was once more sent to St. Petersburg. He spent nearly two years in the land of the Czar and while there journeyed much through the country, visiting the principal points of trade, and, in his observations in the journal which he kept, showed a fine knowledge of men and affairs. He left Russia in 1824 and before returning to London spent some months in Vienna and Paris. His application to business, his study of books, his contact with society, his visits to the great centres of art and learning all went to the shaping of his character, and when he returned to London in 1824 after the death of his mother, he was recognized as one of the keenest-sighted and most polished of the young men of his time.

In the year 1825, he was carried away by mining speculations that were taking place in America, and, like many another Englishman then and since, lost heavily through his over-confidence in the promoters of schemes in the New World. However, his losses do not seem to have effected him much, and that same year he became interested in the great questions that Mr. Huskisson and other Reformers were bringing to the front. His study of and interest in these questions brought him into contact with such men as Mr. Mill, Mr. Hume, Mr. Warburton and Mr. Bentham. These men did not a little to form his mind on economic and social questions. They and other Liberals were attracted by his wisdom, his brilliancy as a speaker and his

extensive knowledge of the great trade questions of his time. He was asked by them to become a candidate for the borough of Dover; and having a genuine enthusiasm for reform, decided to stand for the House of Commons. This step was not approved of by the firm of Thomson & Sons, who had little sympathy with the agitation of the Liberals. His father and eldest brother endeavored to persuade him to give up his intention of standing for Dover. It was, they maintained, contrary to the interests of their business. They even went so far as to threaten a dissolution of partnership, but Poulett Thomson heeded not their prayers or threats, but went on with the contest and won after a hard fight. It is interesting to note, in this age when political corruption is so much talked about, that the expenses of this election came to no less than £3,000.

He soon became a very active member of the House, and voted and spoke on many of the measures that were introduced by his Reform fellow members. When questions regarding England's foreign trade came up he spoke with power and knowledge, and through his wide experience on the continent and in business, was able to throw many lights on the questions that held the attention of the House. Mr. Huskisson admiringly said of him after one of his speeches that "he showed an extraordinary degree of acuteness and knowledge in respect to the commerce and navigation of the country." He was a consistent Reformer, and spoke in favor of vote by ballot, changing of the navigation laws, greater civil and religious liberty for his countrymen, and introduced a bill for the repeal of the usury laws. He was a tower of strength to Mr. Huskisson, who was beginning his battle for free trade. A speech delivered by him in the early stages of this struggle was one of the ablest ever heard in the House of Commons on the question. In the course of this speech he said: "I am no rash theorist,—I am not desirous of carrying a favorite principle into operation at the expense of existing interests; but I maintain that your only course is a gradual, a progressive, but a steady approach to a free system; and I maintain, without fear of contradiction, that the very essence of manufacturing and commercial industry, is freedom from legislative interference and legislative protection. Attempt to assist its course by protective enactments, by

IN THE ANNAPOLIS VALLEY. THE LAND OF "JOE" HOWE

fostering care,—you arrest its progress, you destroy its vigour. Unbind the shackles in which your unwise tenderness has confined it—permit it to take unrestrained its own course,—expose it to the wholesome breezes of competition, you give it new life, you restore its former vigour. Industry had been well likened, in my opinion, to the hardy alpine plant: self-sown on the mountain side, exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, it gathers strength in its struggles for existence, it shoots forth in vigour and in beauty. Transplanted to the rich soil of the parterre,—tended by the fostering hand of the gardener,—nursed in the artificial atmosphere of the forcing-glass, it grows sickly and enervated,—its shoots are vigourless, its flowers inodorous. In one single word lies the soul of industry—competition."

Before he was thirty years old Mr. Thomson was a sufferer from gout, and, in 1829, went to Paris for his health. While in this city he mingled freely with the leaders in diplomacy and politics, and gained fine diplomatic skill. After the death of Mr. Huskisson he was appointed, in Earl Grey's Administration, Vice-President of the Board of Trade with the Treasurership of the Navy. He now had to devote all his energies to his country, and dissolved partnership in the business firm of which up to this time he had been an active member.

In the first great discussion on the Reform Bill he was one of the strongest men. He continued to be recognized as a leader in his party, and in 1831 went to Paris in the interests of England to begin negotiations for a new commercial treaty. He proved himself an able diplomat, and his knowledge of the French character and the French language, and his own polish and suavity made his mission successful, and English trade benefited largely by his work. He took a most active interest in the industries of his country and visited all the great manufacturing districts in England and Scotland. At the election of 1832 he was returned for both Dover and Manchester, although he put forth no effort to win the latter seat. He naturally chose Manchester, as it was the most important manufacturing centre in the kingdom. Between the years 1832 and 1838

he was influential in reducing the duties on nearly four hundred articles. In 1834 his abilities were to receive further recognition, and he was given the position of President of the Board of Trade.

When the Canadian question, due to the Rebellion of 1837, began to occupy a large place in the minds of English statesmen, Mr. Thomson took great interest in the situation. In 1839, when Lord Durham's Report was occupying the attention of the House, he remarked to another friend with regard to Canada: "Lord A. said he thought Canada 'the finest field of exertion for anyone as offering the greatest power for doing the greatest good to one's fellow creatures.' I agree with him."

Towards the close of this year he had the choice between the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the government of Canada. He knew the difficulties in the New World, but he had confidence in himself, and believed that he was able to surmount them. Lord Durham's able Report was before him, besides he was an intimate friend of Lord Durham, and Mr. Charles Buller, and their wise counsel greatly helped him in forming a correct estimate of the obstacles he would have to overcome in Canada. After carefully considering the matter from all sides he accepted the position of Governor-General of the British Provinces in North America. On September 13, 1839, he sailed for Quebec, which he reached after a stormy voyage of thirty-three days. The confidence he had in his own strength is shown in the following words written during his voyage to Canada.

"I have thought a good deal within the last few days of my position; and upon the whole I think I have done right, both on public and on personal grounds. I have a better chance of settling things in Canada than anyone they could have found to go; and if I had not taken it then, as I could not well have got out of the government, I should have shared in the disgrace next session. It is a *great field*, too, if I bring about the union, and stay for a year to meet the United Assembly and set them to work."

When he landed at Quebec he found that the people on the whole were friendly disposed towards him. He made a short sojourn in Quebec and then proceeded to Montreal, where the seat of government was now fixed.

Mr. Thomson at once went to work to bring about a Union of the two Provinces of Canada. He called together a special council, but it was composed of the men appointed by his predecessor, and he took care to add no new members. He was known to be a Reformer. His political record was an open book to the men of Upper Canada, and not a few in Toronto felt a strong antipathy to him. However, he patiently bided his time, believing that in the end he would bring all classes to his way of thinking. He had no easy task before him, but he went manfully to his work and handled the rebel French and the rebel British and the "Family Compact" party with such wisdom that on the last day of the year he was able to write thus:—

"I have done my business. The Union is carried triumphantly through the Legislature of both Provinces. And it now only remains for Parliament to do its duty and pass the Bill, which I shall send home. It had not been without trouble and a prodigious deal of management, in which my House of Commons tactics stood me in good stead, for I wanted above all things to avoid a dissolution. My ministers vote against me, so I govern through the opposition, who are truly 'Her Majesty's.' . . . It is something to have concluded my business before I get an answer to my announcement of my arrival in the country. Just two months from the day of my landing in Quebec the Assembly sent me their final address, completing the chain of assents which I required."

He had now before him, what he considered, a much more difficult question to settle, the Clergy Reserves. The battle over this matter had been waged bitterly for several decades, and the question had assumed an importance that was threatening the life of the colony. Mr. Thomson believed it to be "the root of all the troubles of the Province, the cause of the Rebellion—the never-failing watch-word of the hustings, the perpetual source of discord, strife and hatred." He had confidence that he could settle this matter, too. The bill he brought in on the Clergy Reserves question passed the Assembly, but was to undergo much change before it finally became law. When the Bill was being dealt with by the Legislative Council he wrote with regard to it: "If it is really passed it is the greatest work

that ever has been done in this country, and will be of more solid advantage to it than all the loans and all the troops you can make or send. It is worth ten Unions and was ten times as difficult."

In dealing with both the question of the Union and the Clergy Reserves question much of his success was due to his holding himself absolutely aloof from either party. He saw that the previous governors had failed because "they threw themselves into the hands of one party or the other and became their slave." He, on the other hand, determined to yield to neither of them. He "took the moderate from both sides—rejected the extremes—and governed" as he thought right. He was satisfied that the mass of the people were moderate in their demands and attached to British Institutions; he believed that "they had been oppressed by a miserable little oligarchy on the one hand and excited by a few factious demagogues on the other." He expected greater difficulties in settling matters in Lower Canada, but when he turned his undivided attention to affairs in that Province he showed himself desirous to protect the French Canadians in a fair share of political power, and to maintain their equality with their fellow subjects, and the French were not long in recognizing that in him they had a genuine friend.

His good work received the approval of the Queen, and in 1840 he was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Sydenham of Sydenham in Toronto and Kent. During this year he visited many parts of the country, and was greatly impressed with the possibilities of its future. He was everywhere enthusiastically received, and his journey in both Upper and Lower Canada was, to use his own words, a triumph—a series of ovations.

On February 5, a proclamation was issued declaring the re-union of Upper and Lower Canada, and on February 10, Lord Sydenham officially proclaimed the Union of the Provinces. Kingston was made the capital of Canada, and Messrs. Sullivan, Dunn, Odgen, Draper, Baldwin, Day, Daly, and Harrison were chosen for the first Council.

It looked for a time as if Lord Sydenham would never preside over the United Canadian Parliament. He was in ill-health, and so severe were several of the attacks of gout that his life was despaired of; indeed, he had almost given up all hope of ever again seeing the other side of the Atlantic.

However, he had the gratification of meeting his parliament, and in his speech from the throne spoke hopefully of the future. On several questions which he introduced he had a stiff fight, but with the exception of one or two minor points, was in every case successful, and saw the Union "irrevocably established and the new government thoroughly organized."

During the summer months he resided at Alwington House, on the lake shore, near Kingston, and the quiet of the spot and the healthy lake breezes gave him new strength. He liked his work and would willingly have remained in Canada, but he knew he had not long to live. The sweetest music to his ears would be the guns pealing from the rock of Quebec wishing him a safe journey to the motherland. He longed for the end of the session, and wrote hopefully to his friends of seeing them again. He was confident that nothing could break the Union. "Canada," he said, "must henceforth go on well unless it is most terribly mismanaged;" and he gave wise advice as to the kind of successor who should be sent out to take his place.

"What I have seen, however," he wrote early in the session, "and had to do in the course of the last three weeks, strengthens my opinion of the absolute necessity of your sending out as my successor someone with House of Commons and Ministerial habits—a person who will not shrink from work, and who will govern, as I do, *himself*. Such a man—*not* a soldier, but a statesman—will find no difficulties in his path that he cannot easily surmount; for everything will be in grooves running of itself, and only requiring general direction."

His health was so far recovered by September as to enable him to take breezy rides along the beautiful lake shore. On the 4th of September, as he was cantering up a hill near Alwington House, without any thought of danger, his horse stumbled, threw him and fell on him, breaking the large bone of his leg. He was carried to his home and at first the doctors gave hopes of his recovery, but his constitution was so undermined by gout, which now, as he said, coward-like stepped in to add to his sufferings. Still he expected to be confined to his bed for not more than three or four weeks, and expressed hopes of sailing for England in the autumn.

He did not permit the intense pain he was enduring to interfere with his conduct of the business of the country. The questions before the Legislature occupied his mind, and the officers of the government and leading members of both Houses visited him, and he gave them advice and discussed public matters with them.

On the 11th of September he was so hopeful of an early recovery that he wrote to Lord Falkland, Governor of Nova Scotia, in a cheerful vein requesting to have the frigate "Pique" sent to Quebec to be in readiness to carry him to England as soon as he was strong enough to begin the journey. There is much of pathos in his words: "She brought me out, and I should like to go home in her."

He continued to make final preparations for leaving Canada with a full sense of having done well the work he was sent from England to do. He was able to write to Lord John Russell in the following terms:

"You will have seen that I was determined to do all my business before coming away; and a pretty session it will be. Every measure will have been triumphantly carried. Though I could not get the Bank through, it must succeed another year. The House of Assembly wished to defer it for the session; but in the meantime they have taxed the issues of private banks, which will insure its passing. My successor, therefore, will have little of legislation even left for him."

The state of his health was now more critical, and the pain he was suffering became more intense, but he continued to examine Bills sent up to him by the Legislature, and busied himself preparing the speech with which he intended to close the session. He spent Friday, September 17, in giving the final touches to his address. But even while he was working on it his physicians and friends realized that he had only a few days, at the outside, to live. They had given up all hope of his recovery, but he was still hopeful. However, on the 18th of the month he, too, saw that he was dying, but even on that day had the public affairs of Canada at heart. He suffered intense pain, but no complaining word came from his lips, and on Sunday, the 19th, this life, so short, yet so full of good work for England and her greatest colony, ended.

His death was deeply lamented in Canada. His friends, and even his enemies, recognized that he was the ablest man yet sent from England to govern this country. He had been cut off when his work for British North America was but begun. He was only forty-two years old when he died, and yet what a splendid record he had left behind! He had done as much as any man of his time to pave the way for English free trade, and he had shown England how a statesman should deal with the colonies. His labors in Canada brought calm after turmoil and rebellion, and his death on the field of his labors set a seal to his work.

CHAPTER XX.

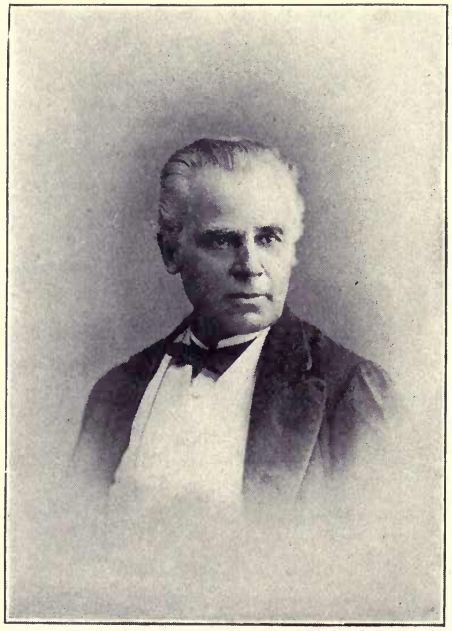
SIR JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.

By J. Castell Hopkins.

Sir John Beverley Robinson a Descendant of an Old Yorkshire Family—His Father a Veteran of the Revolutionary War—Born at Berthier, Quebec, July 26, 1791—Educated By John Strachan—Begins the Study of Law—Appointed Attorney-General of Upper Canada—A Soldier of the War of 1812—First Representative of the Town of York in the Assembly—Sent to England on an Important Mission—The Imperial Government Offers him the Position of Chief-Justice of the Island of Mauritius—Appointed Chief-Justice of Upper Canada—Favors the Clergy Reserves and Opposes Responsible Government—Volunteers for the Defence of Toronto in the Rebellion of 1837—Declines the Honor of Knighthood—Made a Companion of the Bath in 1850—Created a Baron of the United Kingdom in 1854—Received the Degree of D. C. L. from the University of Oxford—His Death January 31 1863—For Upwards of half a Century a Foremost Figure in Upper Canada.

THE Hon. Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., C. B., D. C. L., was a descendant of an old Yorkshire family which had a lineage running back to the time of Henry VII. His father was Christopher Robinson, who during the Revolutionary war, received a commission in the famous "Queen's Rangers" under Colonel Simcoe, afterwards the first governor of Upper Canada.

He was born at Berthier, Quebec, July 26, 1791, and when seven years of age removed with his parents to York, the then Provincial capital. Some two years later he was sent to Kingston to the school of the afterwards celebrated Bishop Strachan. Being a very bright and attractive boy, the great educator became very fond of him and proud of his proficiency. It was, therefore, quite natural that the opinions of the youth should be moulded by the learned doctor, and it was during this early formative period that young Robinson's political convictions, which he ever after conscientiously held, were formed. During his entire political career, indeed, he was very susceptible to the powerful influence of his early teacher. When about



THE HON. SIR GEORGE E. CARTIER
BART., M.P.
Premier of the Canadas before Confederation

THE HON. EDWARD BLAKE
Q.C.,LL.D.,M.P.
Dominion Liberal Leader, 1880-87

sixteen he began the study of law, at which he made such rapid progress and displayed such unusual legal knowledge, that when only twenty-one years of age he was made Attorney-General of Upper Canada. In order to accept this high office he was called to the Bar by a special action of the Court, and this was duly confirmed by an act of the Legislature.

At this time he also took up arms in defence of his country, and served during the war of 1812. Throughout the campaign he was conspicuous for courage and indifference to danger. He was with Brock on his western expedition, and took part in the surrender of Detroit. He was a member of the guard placed over the American General, Hull; took part in the battle at Queenston Heights, and was not far from General Brock when he fell. Lieutenant Robinson was foremost in the last desperate charge of the men of Lincoln and the York Volunteers. He was greatly admired by the troops for his military dash and bravery.

During his terms as Attorney-General—Dec. 3, 1812, to Jan. 6, 1815, and Feb. 18, 1818, to July, 1829—it devolved upon him to prosecute in the celebrated case of Robert Gourlay. In connection with this trial, grave charges were made against him by political opponents of tampering with justice, but there was never any ground for such an accusation.

In 1821, Mr. Robinson became the first representative of the town of York in the House of Assembly, and was at once the leader and mouthpiece of the Tory party. He was a ready and finished speaker, and having himself well under control, made comparatively few personal enemies. He possessed a commanding presence and the bearing of an English gentleman of the old school. In 1822 he successfully accomplished an important mission to Great Britain regarding the settlement of certain differences which had arisen between Upper and Lower Canada over the collection of custom duties at Montreal, and for this he received a vote of thanks from both Houses of the Legislature.

About this time the Imperial government offered to make him Chief Justice of the Island of Mauritius, an honor which he declined, although the office would have yielded several thousand pounds per annum. In 1829 he declined the office of Chief Justice of Upper Canada, but in 1830 he accepted

the position. As Chief Justice he was president of the Executive Council, and was also Speaker of the Upper House from 1828 to 1840. In debates his conservative cast of mind was generally apparent. He was ever in favor of maintaining the Clergy Reserves, and always opposed to responsible government as understood in those days.

In the Rebellion of 1837 he volunteered for the defence of Toronto against the rebels, and it was he who was obliged as Chief Justice to pronounce sentence of death on Peter Matthews and Samuel Lount.

While in England in 1839, he declined the honour of Knighthood, and at the union of the provinces in 1841, shortly after his return, his political life may be said to have terminated. For nearly a quarter of a century after this he continued to discharge the duties of Chief Justice in a way which brought him universal respect. His learning, acumen and stainless integrity were proverbial. His industry was as marked as his learning, and his judgments were very rarely at fault. In 1850 Chief Justice Robinson was made a Companion of the Bath. Four years later he was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom, and in 1856 received from the University of Oxford the honorary degree of D. C. L.

In 1862 he retired from the position of Chief Justice and accepted the less arduous one of President of the Court of Appeal. In January, 1863, he presided in this capacity for the last time, as a few days after he was seized by an acute illness and expired on the 31st of that month. His remains were laid to rest in St. James' Cemetery, Toronto.

For upwards of half a century he had held a foremost position in the history of the Province. Success not only came to him early in life, but remained with him. Throughout his entire career, whether as a boy at school, a student at law, a soldier on the battlefield, a leader in parliament, or as Chief Justice of the Province, he honoured each position and brought to the discharge of his duty that continued industry, nobility of character and splendid talent which ever distinguished his public and private life, and kept for him a high position amongst his fellow-men.

CHAPTER XXI.

LORD ELGIN.

A Critical Period in Canadian History—The Two Races in Canada Make Government Difficult—The War of 1837 Intensifies the Situation—Lord Elgin a Wise Ruler—His Birth and Descent—His Education—A Distinguished Scholar—Enters Lincoln's Inn—Member for Southampton—Appointed Governor of Jamaica—Ameliorates the Moral and Social Condition of the Negroes—His Return to England—Appointed Governor-General of British North America—Finds the French and the English in Canada in Bitter Antipathy to Each Other—The Country in a Wretched Financial Condition—The Ravages Made by "Ship-Fever"—Canadians Indignant at England for Sending Pauper Emigrants to Canada—Makes an Extensive Trip Through Canada—Loyalists of Upper Canada Dissatisfied with Lord Elgin's Attitude—The Rebellion Losses Bill—The Tories of Montreal Create Riots on Passage of the Bill—Lord Elgin Tenders His Resignation to the Home Government—His Course in Canada Approved of by the English Government—Decides to Remove Seat of Government from Montreal—Once More Visits Upper Canada—The French Drawn Toward England by His Just Rule—The "Tories" Issue Annexation Manifestoes—Lord Elgin Endeavors to Establish Reciprocity with the United States—Visits the United States—Concludes a Reciprocity Treaty—Opposed to Militarism—His Immigration Policy—His Farewell to Canada—His Attitude on the Crimean War—The "Arrow" Affair—Sent to China by the British Government—His Wise Action at Time of Indian Mutiny—In Calcutta—His Negotiations with the Chinese—On His Return to England Offered the Office of Postmaster-General by Lord Palmerston—Fresh Troubles Break Out in China—Lord Elgin Returns to the East with a Strong Force—Compels the Chinese Authorities to Ratify the Treaty of Tientsin—His Work Appreciated in England—Appointed Viceroy of India—Visits the Principal Cities of India—Seized With a Fatal Illness—His Death—Dean Stanley's Tribute to His Memory—A Great Empire Builder.

CANADA, like every other young country of modern times, has had several decidedly critical periods in her history, but none is of more importance than that which occurred almost immediately after the Rebellion of 1837.

Lord Durham by his wise report to the Home government had suggested a way out of the difficulties threatening Canada, but likewise pointed out that the greatest of all difficulties was not a political one, but was racial. The great obstacle to Canadian development was the two distinct races, the French and the British, who in ideas, laws and in language, opposed each other.

The War of 1837 had intensified this mutual antipathy and it looked for a time, within a decade of the close of the struggle, as if a still bloodier strife would break out. Fortunately for the country, at the critical moment the destiny of Canada was in the hands of an astute and experienced ruler who grasped the situation and fearlessly wrought in the interests of right.

This distinguished governor was James, eighth Earl of Elgin, and twelfth Earl of Kincardine. He was born in London on July 20, 1811, and was a descendant of the great house of Robert, the Bruce. He was of a family of diplomats; his father had been ambassador to Constantinople and had won renown through his connection with the celebrated "Elgin Marbles." The future Governor of Canada received his preliminary education at the hands of a private tutor, Mr. Fergus Jardine, but at the age of fourteen was sent to Eton, and afterward to Christ Church, Oxford, where he was associated with some of the most brilliant minds of the century—among them Lord Canning, Lord Dalhousie and Mr. Gladstone, and he was not the least in the group. It was an age when oratory counted for much, and on several occasions at the Union Club he made speeches, which, it has been said, not even Mr. Gladstone could have equalled. He was, however, essentially a student and lived much in his books. He took such a distinguished place in his classes that when a studentship in the gift of Dr. Bull of Christ Church, Oxford, fell vacant, it was awarded to him for his excellent deportment, diligence, and right-mindedness. These words might have been applied to him in any stage of his brilliant career. He was sent to Jamaica, to Canada, to China and to India, largely on account of his diligence and right-mindedness.

He over-worked himself at college and was forced to limit his studies almost exclusively to the classics. However, he cultivated philosophy and to the end of his life his mind had a serious, philosophical and religious bent, although he never was what could be called an abstract thinker.

He entered Lincoln's Inn but seems to have done so with the intention of preparing himself for politics rather than law, and it was not until 1840 that his true career began. In that year by the death of his half-brother George, Lord Bruce, he became heir to the earldom. In the following year he married Elizabeth Mary, daughter of M. C. L. Cummings Bruce; and in

the general election of the same year he stood for the borough of Southampton and was returned to Parliament at the head of the poll.

As was expected by those who knew him best at Oxford, he at once came to the front. His first opportunity was in a speech he made in seconding the amendment to the Address. This speech proclaimed him one of the ablest minds in the House of Commons, but his career in the Lower House was brought to a sudden termination by the death of his father and his own elevation to the earldom. As a result of this he took his seat in the House of Lords, and it seemed as if England was to lose one of her best and most promising statesmen; but the Empire is vast, and needs all kinds of minds. There was work for Elgin in the West and in the East which was quite as important as any he could have done in the homeland.

Scarcely had he entered the House of Lords before the Governorship of Jamaica became vacant. The island needed a man at the head of it who was possessed of true statesmanship, and Lord Elgin was selected for the position. In April, 1842, he sailed for Jamaica with his young wife. On the voyage out he had the misfortune to suffer shipwreck. All the passengers were saved, but Lady Elgin received such a severe shock that she never completely recovered from it, and died in the summer of the following year.

As Governor of Jamaica, Lord Elgin's aim was to rule constitutionally, to win the good-will of the inhabitants, and to promote the interests of all ranks of society on the island. He saw that the negroes were sunk in moral and social degradation, and, in season and out of season, he sought to ameliorate their condition. They were scarcely fit for freedom, and the only way they could be made so, he believed, was by education. The planters, very naturally, had an antipathy to expending money on educating such menials as the colored races under their rule. Lord Elgin endeavored to make the planters realize that an educated negro was worth much more than an illiterate one, and that money spent on education would be a profitable investment.

His sojourn in the island was comparatively short, but he left a deep impress upon it, and due to his residence in Jamaica the whole population

was elevated socially and morally and religiously. But his life was a sad one; he could never shake off the melancholy caused by the death of his wife, and, excepting when his duties called him forth, he lived in retirement with his sister and his brother, Robert Bruce, who acted as his private secretary. After three years in Jamaica he desired to return to the green fields of England and the pleasant companionship of his English friends, and asked to be relieved. However, he was needed a little longer, and at the request of the government remained in Jamaica until the spring of 1846.

Lord Grey, Secretary for the Colonies, made an effort to have him retained in Jamaica, but failed; recognizing his great ability he had him appointed, shortly after his return to England, to the important position of Governor-General of British North America. Canada was at this time attracting considerable attention in England. It was a post of trust requiring great energy and good statemanship; just the kind of a country a strong man would like to rule in, and Lord Elgin accepted the position. On November 7, 1846, he married Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, daughter of the late Earl of Durham who had done so much to give Canada a strong government.

Within two months of his marriage he sailed for America. He left his wife in England for the time being, no doubt, dreading to take her in the winter season to the hardships of the Canadian climate. Canada at that time was, as indeed it is to-day, to nearly every Englishman a land of arctic-like severity. After an unusually stormy passage his vessel reached Boston, and he set out at once for the seat of government at Montreal, where he arrived on January 29. He was scarcely in the city before he realized that he had in hand a much more difficut task than the governing of such a colony as Jamaica. Here he found two races in bitter antipathy to each other, the English hating, despising the French, and the French looking upon the English as conquerors and would-be tyrants. At the same time to the south was the United States, a prosperous nation rapidly becoming a great power. Racial and political dissatisfaction in Canada turned the eyes of many Canadians towards the flesh-pots of the republic to their south. There were dissensions within the land and many of the inhabitants were disloyal or

apparently ready to become so. Canadian representative institutions were still in their infancy and it seemed to many that they were a failure.

The country was in a wretched financial condition. Free-trade which had lately been adopted in England had ruined many of the business men and it was said that three-fourths of those engaged in commercial enterprises were bankrupts. As is ever the case, this commercial depression caused much political discontent. Again, the famine in Ireland was seriously effecting Canadian affairs. To relieve the unfortunate situation in that unhappy island thousands of emigrants were sent to Canada. The unsanitary conditions under which they came to this country caused an outbreak of "ship-fever," and the unfortunate people died by hundreds. The Irish who came into the country were in abject poverty and became burdens to the communities in which they settled. This was not the worst phase of the situation, the plague they brought with them spread throughout Canada and many of the inhabitants fell a prey to it. Very naturally the Canadians resented the action of England in sending these pauper emigrants to this country. At the same time Metcalfe's Ministry had become greatly weakened; they saw that they could hold office for but a few brief months and were prepared to bitterly oppose any governor-general who would even be just to the Reform party.

When Lord Elgin landed in the country he very soon grasped the situation. He saw the mistake Metcalfe had made in identifying himself with the Tory party, and he was determined to hold aloof from all parties and to rule constitutionally, no matter what it might cost him. He recognized, as had Lord Durham, that the great cause of lack of unity in Canada was the race difficulty. The French looked upon the English as their conquerors, and to some extent their oppressors, and he resolved to do all in his power to win them to contentment under British rule.

In the autumn of 1847, he made an extended trip through Upper Canada and was much delighted with the rich country and the sturdy inhabitants. He saw the possibilities of what is now Ontario and prophesied for the region along the lakes a great future.

At the close of 1847 the Canadian parliament dissolved and in 1848 Lord Metcalfe's Ministry found itself in a decided minority. In the new government which was formed the French Canadians were the chief element and this added not a little to the discontent of the Loyalists of Upper Canada, The situation in the country had made them feel bitterly, and now the loss of office added intensity to their hatred of what they deemed the Rebel party. But Lord Elgin was not displeased with the French predominancy, and saw in the situation an opportunity to reconcile the inhabitants of Quebec to British rule. When parliament met in January, 1848, he had the tact to address it in both French and English. The opposition seized the occasion to cry down a governor-general who would so far cater to the French as to address them in their own language. Lord Elgin went further than this, he did all in his power to have the restrictions on the use of the French language removed and made efforts to make it easy for the *habitants* to acquire Crown lands. As a result of his action towards the French, long before the Rebellion Losses Bill came to stir the country to its depths, he was cordially hated by the Loyalist party.

During the War of 1837 and 1838 much property had been destroyed in both Upper and Lower Canada. The Loyalists of Upper Canada felt that they alone should be indemnified, but when the Reform party of Lower Canada attained power they brought in a bill to provide for losses sustained in Lower Canada during the Rebellion. When this bill was first mentioned it raised a storm of indignation among the Loyalists. They looked upon it as a measure intended to recompense rebels. Lord Elgin, on the other hand, saw in it nothing but justice, and, while he was not out-spoken in the matter, it was generally understood that it would have his support. The Tories addressed petitions to Lord Elgin praying, that the parliament introducing it might be dissolved or that if they did succeed in passing the bill it should be reserved for the Royal sanction. Lord Elgin courteously received these petitions, but when the bill passed the Assembly by forty-seven votes to eighteen, and especially when there was a majority of the members of Upper Canada in favor of it, he saw no other course as a constitutional ruler than to

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give it his sanction, and so, on April 25, 1849, he gave the Royal assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill.

When he left the House of Parliament he was cheered and hooted, and, as he drove through the streets, the "respectable Tories" of Montreal pelted his carriage with all kinds of missiles. They called an open-air meeting at which inflammatory speeches were made, and the excited mob rushed to the Parliament House, broke the windows and burned the building to the ground, destroying a valuable library that was a distinct loss to the country. For several days the rioting continued, but Lord Elgin acted with great judgment, restraining the hand of the government and preventing bloodshed. The House of Assembly voted an address to the Governor-General expressing their abhorrence of these riots. On April 30, Lord Elgin set out from "Monklands" for the Government House to receive the address and was escorted into the city by a troop of volunteers, but on the way his carriage was stoned and he was forced to return to his country residence. Rioting continued, and for a time the lives of the members of the government and the life of the Governor-General himself were in danger. The situation was most painful to Lord Elgin, but he in no way swerved from his position on the Rebellion Losses Bill. However, in order to prevent a collision between the French and English in Montreal, he remained for several weeks at "Monklands." The Tory papers of Montreal had the lack of generosity to state that his action was due to cowardice.

The situation in Canada was such that he felt it his duty to tender his resignation to the Home government, but he was told "that to retire from the high office which the Queen had been pleased to entrust to you, and which from the value she puts upon your services it is her most anxious wish that you should retain it, should be out of the question." While he had the support of the Home government he was not without friends among the the English-speaking people of Canada, and many addresses of approval were sent to him; but the Montreal incendiaries were not to be appeased and rebellion broke out again in August. Lord Elgin and the government now saw how impossible it would be to retain the seat of government at Montreal, and so it was decided to remove it from the city. On account of the race difficulty and

the long distances in the country it was decided that alternate meetings should be held at Quebec and Toronto. Under the circumstances it was concluded to hold the first meeting in Toronto; otherwise the cry of French rule would have been raised throughout Canada.

Lord Elgin once more visited Upper Canada in order to get to know the people better. He had expected to be received with considerable animosity, but, while a small minority showed their hatred of him for his attitude on the Rebellion Losses Bill, the great majority of the people gave him everywhere an enthusiastic welcome.

His leniency with the mob was viewed in England with mixed feelings. The Home government was glad that bloodshed had been avoided but they could not understand his leniency. Of their attitude Elgin writes: "Lord Grey and Lord Russell both felt that either I was right or I was wrong. If the latter I ought to be recalled, if the former I ought to make the law respected." The people in the United States took an interest in the situation and some of the leading politicians said to Lord Elgin, with regard to this matter, "We thought that you were quite right, but we could not understand why you did not shoot them down."

His generous treatment of the rioters had its reward, and although there is still a race difficulty in Canada Lord Elgin did more than any other of our governors-general to unify the country, to make of one mind and one heart the people of diverse blood in Canada. While he was in the country some seven hundred thousand French people became reconciled to English rule. They saw that the representative of the Crown was eager to do them justice.

The hard times and general discontent in Canada made many of the inhabitants of the country, and particularly the ultra-loyalists, look for relief towards the United States. Annexation was in the air and manifestoes were signed in many parts of the country in favor of it. Magistrates, Queen's counsels, militia officers and others holding positions under the Crown affixed their signatures to these manifestoes. Lord Elgin, although favorably disposed towards the American people, took decided steps to stop this movement. He had a circular addressed to all persons in any way connected with the government, whose names had been attached to these manifestoes,

and he resolved, with the advice of his Executive Council, that if their names had been attached with their own consent or if they refused to disavow the genuineness of them, to have them dismissed from office. While taking this course he recognized that there was cause for discontent. The restrictions on navigation greatly interfered with Canadian trade, and he had some of these restrictions removed for the benefit of Canada. He likewise set to work to have reciprocity established with the United States, and although it was some years before this was accomplished, he did not cease in his efforts till it was a fact.

Although opposed to annexation he sought to win the good-will of the American people. He visited Buffalo, Boston, and Portland and through his speeches in these cities made a most favorable impression in the United States. When he went to Washington, in 1854, for the purpose of concluding a reciprocity treaty, he was most favorably received, and had little difficulty in consummating one which, while favorable to the United States, did much to bring prosperity to Canada.

While at the head of Canadian affairs he strove to make the Home government realize the importance of her greatest colony, and aimed at making those in authority treat her with the respect due what was practically a great self-governing people. The following extract from a letter to Earl Grey, in which he refers to a speech on the colonies by Lord John Russell, well illustrates his point of view.

"One thing is, however, indispensable," he wrote, "to the success of this or any other system of Colonial government, you must renounce the habit of telling the colonies that the Colonial is a provisional existence. You must allow them to believe that, without severing the bonds which unite them to Great Britain, they may attain the degree of perfection and of social and political development to which organized communities of free men have a right to aspire."

While endeavoring to make Canada a truly self-respecting and self-governing country, he was opposed to militarism. The matter of defences came up for consideration, and in this connection he said, "only one absurdity could be greater, pardon me for saying so, than the absurdity

of supposing that the British government will pay £200,000 for Canadian fortifications. It is the absurdity of supposing that Canadians will pay it themselves." He saw how useless defences would be against the rapidly growing giant to the south. For the prosperity of Canada and for her security the fewer guns, the fewer forts, and the fewer regular soldiers she had, would be the best safeguard, and there was no occasion for defending herself against, or making preparations to invade any other country.

During Lord Elgin's term as governor-general a number of very important matters other than those referred to came up for consideration. Among these was the question of the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. This was contrary to his wishes, but when they were secularized he accepted the situation, and, as Colonial self-government had had a signal triumph, it even gave him pleasure. He early saw the absurdity of the mode of appointing members for the Upper House and favored making the Senate elective. He believed that a strong Legislative body returned by the same constituency as the House of Assembly under some differences with regard to time and mode of election would have a greater check on legislation than the Council had as now constituted. But the Senate remains, and the absurdity of it is quite as evident to all thinking men as it was in Elgin's day.

The matter of immigration attracted his attention. There was a movement on foot to establish large parties of Irish immigrants in the sections of Western Canada. He was opposed to the scheme, believing that such a mode of peopling the country was not for the best interests of the colony or of the immigrants. "It is almost invariably found," he wrote, "that immigrants who thus isolate themselves, whatever their origin or associations, lag behind their neighbors, and I am inclined to think that, as a general rule, in the case of communities whose social and political organization is as far advanced as that of the North American colonies, it is for the interest of all parties that new-comers instead of dwelling apart and bound together by ties, whether of sect or party, which united them in the country which they have left, should be disposed of as widely as possible among the population already established in that to which they have transferred themselves."

It would be well if the present government of Canada would take to heart Lord Elgin's words. It is very doubtful if settling down blocks of Russians, Galicians, Icelanders and Welshmen in isolated communities in the North West will be for the best development of the country.

Although Lord Elgin had been so cordially hated by a large portion of the inhabitants of Canada in the first years of his rule he gradually won the esteem of nearly all Canadians, and when his work was done and he was about to leave the country crowds flocked to hear his farewell addresses. In Montreal, the scene of the riots, and the city in whose streets he had been stoned, the vast audience that listened to his parting words was, it was said, moved to tears.

When he returned to England he sought a complete rest from official labor. Shortly after his return the Crimean war broke out. Like many other Englishmen of that time he believed the war an unjust one and from his seat in the House of Lords spoke with vigor on the situation,—just or unjust, England was at war and he was ready to stand by her. She had drawn the sword and he declared it should not be sheathed until the purpose for which it had been drawn was accomplished.

At this time he did not identify himself with either of the great political parties. He had been so long in Canada that he was to some extent unfamiliar with the great questions of the day, and before he could get in touch with the changed aspect of the political situation, he was once more to be sent to the remote corners of the Empire to uphold the honor of England.

Difficulties arose between the Chinese and the British governments on account of the "Arrow" affair. A man of diplomatic skill and experience was needed for the situation, and Lord Elgin was chosen to go to China with a force sufficiently strong to compel the Chinese to recognize the demands of the British government.

The expedition had only reached Ceylon, when Lord Elgin learned of the mutiny at Meerut. He saw at once the danger threatening the Empire in India, and, on his own responsibility, dispatched the troops accompanying him to the scene of the conflict. This was one of the most magnificient acts of his brilliant career. Sir H. Ward wrote to him in this connection: "If I know

anything of English public opinion this single act will place you higher in their estimation as a statesman than your whole past career, honorable and fortunate as it has been. For it is not every man who would venture to alter the destination of a force, upon the dispatch of which a parliament has been dissolved, and a government might have been superseded. It is not every man who would consign himself for many months to political inaction in order simply to serve the interests of his country. . . . If India can be saved, it is to you that we should owe its redemption, for nothing short of the Chinese expedition could have supplied the means of holding our ground until reinforcements were received."

Lord Elgin proceeded on his way to Hong Kong to await developments, with the hope of journeying in company with the French allies to the mouth of the Peiho before the setting in of winter. He saw, however, that delay was inevitable. The French ambassador, Baron Gros, had not yet arrived, and it would be many months before the troops he had sent to India could be restored to him. He, therefore, sailed for Calcutta in the ship-of-war "Shannon." He was received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants, and from the crew and guns of this ship the celebrated Naval Brigade, commanded by Sir William Peel, which was to be the chief factor in the relief of Lucknow and Cawnpore, was formed. But for the timely arrival of the "Shannon" with her heavy guns the Indian Mutiny might have had a different ending.

Early in September he once more proceeded to China on his mission. Canton was bombarded and fell an easy prey to the English, and Lord Elgin acted with great humanity towards the inhabitants. He assiduously wrought to bring the Chinese difficulty to a successful conclusion and at length with the help of the French captured the forts at the mouth of the Peiho, and the Emperor's capital was at his mercy. The Chinese were now ready to come to terms but while negotiations were impending he proceeded to Japan and brought about a favorable treaty with the Japanese government. He then returned to China and the treaty of Tientsin was finally signed.

Lord Elgin during this trip to the East had not only done much to save India, to negotiate favorable treaties with both China and Japan, but had likewise studied China and its people with such thoroughness that for the

first time the country was truly known to the English; and the policy of England in dealing with the Chinese for the future was largely shaped by Lord Elgin, while on this celebrated mission. He was completely successful and returned to England with a light heart. His services were appreciated by the government, and shortly after his arrival Lord Palmerston offered him the office of Postmaster-General in his new administration. This was not the only honor he received. He was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University by the students, and the freedom of the city of London was conferred upon him.

He was not long to enjoy a peaceful residence in England. Fresh trouble broke out in China, and, in 1860, he was once more journeying to the East. The Chinese government had refused to ratify the Treaty of Tientsin and a small English fleet attempted to pass up the Peiho. In the meantime the Chinese had strongly fortified the forts at the mouth of this river, and the fleet was repulsed with heavy loss. The British government determined to send out a large force to bring the Emperor to terms, and with this force went Lord Elgin.

In a way the mission was distasteful to him. The sins of England in the past were largely to blame for the unpleasant situation that had arisen. In considering his mission in the light of the Indian Mutiny, he said: "Can I do nothing to prevent calling down God's curses for brutality inflicted on another feeble oriental race." While he was journeying to the East he prayed that the trouble might be ended before he reached China. However, when he arrived in the East he found the situation much as it had been reported before he left England. He had no fear for the ultimate results. The force at his command was sufficient to compel China to ratify the treaty. He at once went to work with vigor and in October his troops advanced on Pekin. The summer palace of the Emperor was captured by the cavalry and in order to save the city the Regent surrendered. The Emperor was responsible for the conflict that had arisen and for the murder of Europeans in China, and Lord Elgin determined to punish him for his misdeeds. He ordered the celebrated summer palace to be burned to the ground, but before doing so he issued a proclamation in Chinese to the effect "that any

individual, however exalted, could not escape from the responsibility and punishment which must always follow acts of treachery and deceit, and that Yuen-Wing-Yuen was burned as a punishment inflicted on the Emperor for the violation of his word and the act of treachery to a flag of truce." Shortly after this Lord Elgin arranged with the Emperor's brother the ratification of the treaty of Tientsin.

Towards the end of November the Chinese situation was settled and he was on a vessel homeward bound. He proceeded to England leisurely, visiting the Philippines, Java and Ceylon on his way. When he arrived in London he found, that as in the case of his former mission, his work had been thoroughly approved of by Her Majesty's government. Lord John Russell thus wrote with regard to his mission: "The convention which you concluded with the Prince of Kung on the 24th of October is entirely satisfactory to Her Majesty's government. It records the reparation made by the Emperor of China for his disregard of his treaty engagements; it sets Her Majesty's government free from an implied engagement not to insist in all particulars on the fulfilment of those engagements; it imposes upon China a fine, in the shape of an augmented rate of indemnity; it affords an additional opening for British trade; it places on a recognized footing the emigration of Chinese coolies, whose services are so important to Her Majesty's colonial possessions; it relieves Her Majesty's colony of Hong Kong from a source of previous annoyance; and it provides for bringing generally to the knowledge of the Chinese the engagements into which the Emperor has entered towards Great Britain.

"These are all solid advantages; and, coupled with the provisions of the treaty of Tientsin, they will, it may be hoped, place the relations between the two countries on a sound footing, and insure the continuation of peace for a long period to come."

When Lord Elgin arrived in England in 1861 he was enthusiastically received. He was the most distinguished guest at the annual banquet of the Royal Academy in London and at the Mansion House. He was, however, to have but a short sojourn in England. He had scarcely reached London before it was announced that Lord Canning was about to retire from the vice-

JAMES BRUCE, EARL OF ELGIN AND KINCARDINE

royalty of India. Lord Elgin's work in the East and his knowledge of the Eastern character, coupled with his experience as a ruler in Jamaica and Canada, fitted him, before all other Englishmen of his time, for the most important position in the Empire, and Lord Palmerston in the name of the Queen offered him the governorship of India. It was fitting that one who had done so much for India in the time of her sore need should be sent to govern the teeming millions in that vast country. He accepted the offer with rejoicing and fear. He hoped to be able to do something to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of India, and at the same time to rule in such a way as to make up for the blunders of English rulers in the past. He knew he had no easy task before him and realized that he would have to give the best that was in him, following, as he did, such astute viceroys as Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning. He did not go to India, however, without misgivings; he felt as he left the shores of England that he would never again return to the homeland.

He left England in January, 1862, and reached Calcutta on March 12. There was peace in the land, and, due to the thoroughness with which the Mutiny had been suppressed, there was no danger of any rebel outbreaks south of Peshawur. However, from the beginning his labors were far from being light. The majority of the officials under him were new to their work and the burden of much of it fell on the shoulders of the Viceroy.

His policy was two-fold; in the first place he determined that British sovereignty should be respected, and on the other hand he put forth every effort to deal kindly with the Indian chiefs and to win their love for British rule. He believed it to be the duty of a governor-general to know the country he was governing thoroughly, and so he decided to visit the provinces. On tht 5th of February, 1863, he set out in state on his tour of inspection. Durbars were held at Benares, Cawnpore and Agra, at which many of the most noted chiefs were present. He visited, besides, Delhi, Umballa and other places of interest and then turned northward into the hill region and early in April reached Simla.

He rested for several months in this delightful spot, and towards the end of September was preparing to return to Calcutta when an outbreak

among the Sitana fanatics called his attention to the frontier regions. Lord Elgin was averse to carrying on warlike operations on the northern frontier and in the previous year had allowed a similar rebellion to go unpunished. He was now told that this revolt was largely due to his leniency, and he came to the conclusion "that the interests of both prudence and humanity would be best consulted by levelling a speedy and decisive blow at this embryo conspiracy." Preparations were, therefore, made to destroy the place of refuge of the fanatics at Mulka.

Lord Elgin left Simla, on September 26 with his ultimate destination, Peshawur. At this time he was in the best of health and his letters home were bright and cheerful, but before he reached Dhurmsala he was seized with an illness, that in a few brief weeks was to lay him in his grave. He soon realized that there was no hope for him and he faced the inevitable with Christian fortitude, rejoicing that he was to die in harness. Lady Elgin reached Calcutta in January, 1863, and was fortunately with him in the closing days of his life. His mind was clear until the end and he even had the spot in which he wished his body to lie chosen before his death, which occurred on November 20. Dean Stanley thus writes of the resting place of this great Viceroy of India.

"He sleeps far away from his native land, on the heights of Dhurmsala; a fitting grave, let us rejoice to think, for the Viceroy of India, overlooking from its lofty height the vast expanse of the hill and plain of these mighty provinces—a fitting burial beneath the snow-clad Himalaya range, for one who dwelt with such serene satisfaction on all that was grand and beautiful in man and nature—

> Pondering God's mysteries untold,
> And, tranquil as the glacier snows,
> He by those Indian Mountains old
> Might well repose."

Like many another able and noble Englishman he gave his life for the Empire, and it was not unfitting that he should rest beneath the shadow of of those great hills which protect England's richest province from Northern invaders. It was not unfitting that the man whose field of action had been the Empire, who had guarded England's interests in Jamaica, in Canada, in

China, in Japan and in India, should find a resting place in this remote province of the Empire. His life had been full of work, and, although it was not generally so recognized at the time of his death, no part of his work had been performed to better purpose than that which he had done at the critical period of Canadian history. The unity and contentment existing in Canada are largely due to the wise and firm stand taken by him during his term as governor general.

CHAPTER XXII.

SIR GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER.

By J. Castell Hopkins.

The Birth of Cartier—Supposed to be Descended from one of the Nephews of Jacques Cartier—Studies at the College of St. Sulpice—Enters upon the Study of Law—Practises His Profession in Montreal—Sides with Papineau in the Rebellion of 1837—After the Defeat of Rebels Cartier Flees to the United States—Returns to Canada—Pardoned by the Government—Returned to Parliament for the County of Verchères—Appointed Provincial Secretary in the Cabinet of Sir Allan McNab—In 1857 Appointed Attorney-General—Visits England in the Interests of a Federal Union—One of the Fathers of Confederation—A Member of the Canadian Assembly for Verchères from 1848 to 1861—Returned for Montreal East in 1861—A Member of the Executive Council of Canada—Entrusted with the Formation of a Government with Sir John A. McDonald—Attorney-General under Sir Etienne Taché—Member of the Colonial Conference, London, 1866-7—Created a Baronet—Minister of Militia and Defence for the Dominion—Influential in Promoting the Construction of the Grand Trunk Railway and the Victoria Bridge—Dies in London—George Maclean Rose's Summing up of Cartier's Career.

Sir George Etienne Cartier, Minister of Militia, was born in the Village of St. Antoine, in the County of Verchères, on the 6th of September, 1814. It was claimed for him that he was descended from one of the nephews of Jacques Cartier, the adventurous Breton navigator who showed to France the ocean pathways to a possible western empire. But aside from this interesting idea he made for himself in the history of his country a name and fame which, by right of native ability and resolute and fortunate effort, was permanently his own. His immediate ancestors were of the better class of French-Canadians. His grandfather, a successful merchant, was one of the first members chosen for the County of Verchères when the Constitutional Act of 1791 gave to Lower Canada the right to representative institutions.

In Lower Canada during the early days of George Etienne Cartier, as now, two avocations possessed a strong attraction for the more gifted amongst the younger population. These were the Church and the Bar. Cartier chose the

latter. To qualify himself for his intended profession, he pursued, for eight years, a course of study at the College of St. Sulpice, in the city of Montreal. After leaving college he entered upon the study of law, and in 1835 began to practise in Montreal. The secret of his success at that time and indeed throughout his life was an industry that never knew cessation, an energy that never faltered, and an ever-present consciousness of his own ability.

And he had scarcely begun the practice of his profession when he was drawn into the political vortex. Louis Joseph Papineau, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly since the year 1817, had been flaming like a portentous meteor in the troubled sky of Canadian politics. Under his influence Cartier fell as did a majority of French-Canadians. By the Constitutional Act, in 1791, Canada was divided into two parts known as Upper and Lower Canada. A Legislature was, by the Act, established in each Province. It consisted of a House of Assembly and a Legislative Council. The people elected the Assembly; and the Crown nominated the Council. Then followed a long conflict between the two Chambers, between the French and the English, between demagogues on the one hand and office-holders on the other. It was a very much mixed up contest, and right was sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other. In the end, the Rebellion of 1837 broke out. Cartier sided with Papineau.

After the defeat of the rebels a reward was offered for the apprehension of the leading participants, and although Cartier was not mentioned in the list he fled to the United States. He afterwards returned home secretly and remained in hiding for a time. His seclusion was not of very long duration, however. An intimation from the authorities assured him that on presenting himself in public he would not be arrested. The promise was faithfully kept.

For nearly ten years after this escapade M. Cartier took no active part in public life. In 1848, yielding to the pressure of his friends, he was returned to Parliament as the representative of his native County of Verchères.

In 1855, he was appointed Provincial Secretary in the Conservative Cabinet of Sir Allan McNab. He was not eager for office and had previously declined the Commissionership of Public Works. In 1857 M. Cartier began his first session as Attorney-General of Lower Canada in place of Mr.

Drummond. During the next year Messrs. Cartier, Ross and Galt visited England in the interests of a Federal Union, but no action was taken by the Imperial authorities at the time. He took a most prominent part at a later period in the accomplishment of Confederation, and was a delegate at the Charlottetown Conference of 1864, and at the Quebec Conference which followed on Oct. 10. He was at one time president of the Montreal St. Jean Baptiste Society. He declined the Solicitor-Generalship of Lower Canada in 1851, the Commissionership of Public Works in 1853, the Companionship of the Bath in 1867. He was a Government Director of the Grand Trunk Railway from November, 1852, to May, 1853, and was Solicitor to the Company for many years. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Speakership of the Legislative Assembly of Canada in 1854.

Sir George first entered Parliament as a supporter of Messrs. Lafontaine and Baldwin, became afterwards the principal supporter of Messrs. Hincks and Morin, and succeeded to the leadership of the French-Canadian Conservative party on the retirement of Sir L. H. Lafontaine and M. Morin. He sat for Verchères in the Canadian Assembly from 1848 until the general election of 1861, when he was returned for Montreal East, which he represented until the Union, and for which he was an unsuccessful candidate at the general elections 1857 and 1873. He was a member of the Executive Council of Canada from the 27th January, 1855, to 29th July, 1858; from 6th August latter year to 23rd May, 1862, and from the 30th March, 1864, to the Union; and during the several periods was Provincial Secretary from January, 1855, to May, 1856, and Attorney-General, L. C., from the latter date until August 1, 1858, when he resigned office with the other members of the Cabinet. He was appointed Inspector-General on 6th August, 1858. He was entrusted with the formation of a Government with the Hon. John A. Macdonald, in which he held office as Attorney-General, L. C., from 7th August, 1858, until 21st May, 1862, when he and his Cabinet resigned, being defeated on the Militia Bill. He was a second time called upon to form a Government but declined in favor of the late Sir Etienne

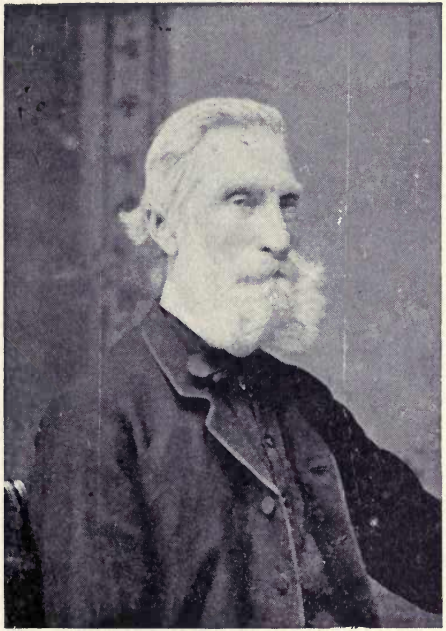
Taché, 1864, in whose administration he again held the office of Attorney-General, L. C., a position which he retained until the Union of the B. N. A. Provinces in July, 1867.

He was a member of the Colonial Conference, London, 1866–7, which finally obtained the passage of the British North America Act of 1867. He was sworn a member of the Privy Council of Canada, created a Baronet, and appointed Minister of Militia and Defence for the Dominion on 1st July, 1867, and in January, 1872, was created a Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Isabella la Catolica (of Spain). In 1868 he was a delegate to England to confer with the Imperial Government respecting the defences of the Dominion, and the acquisition of the North West Territories.

The *Parliamentary Companion* of 1872 enumerates some of the public measures which in part or whole owe their existence to Sir George Cartier, as follows: The construction of the Grand Trunk Railway, including the Victoria Bridge; the promotion of Education and the establishment of Normal Schools; the improvement in several particulars of the Criminal Laws; final abolition of Feudal Tenure; determining and settling the laws with regard to Lands in the Townships of Lower Canada; decentralization of Justice in Lower Canada; the Codification of the Civil Law and the Civil procedure of Lower Canada; the Confederation of B. N. A.; the re-organization of the Militia of the Dominion. After his defeat in Montreal in 1873 he was elected for Provencher, Manitoba, but died shortly after in England on May 20. He was given a public funeral in Montreal, at which a multitude of people accorded the last tribute of respect to a great career.

George MacLean Rose in his *Representative Canadians*, sums up Sir George Cartier's career as follows: "He is looked upon, and perhaps deservedly, by the French-Canadian people as the greatest statesman that the French province has ever produced. M. Cartier was a hard and fast partyist, but a devoted friend of his race. The great secret of his success was his strong ambition, and his almost phenomenal perseverance and energy. In private life his name was always above reproach, and in his public capacity, although, as stated, a conspicuous type of a partyist, very little of definite reproach clings about his name. Indeed, some of his admirers, and those

whose statements are entitled to regard, aver that the great statesman made a practice of sacrificing his private interests to those of the public. As a speaker he was sometimes regarded as tiresome, but it would be more correct to say that he was exhaustive. It was customary with those who heard him make speeches to say after he had sat down, that nothing more remained to be said. Every point of value was brought into light, every argument of weight was skilfully marshalled and made to bear in the direction of the speaker's contentions. He had the gift, too, of being master of both English and French."



HON. R. W. SCOTT

THE HON. SIR ANTOINE A. DORION, KNT.
Chief Justice of Quebec, 1874-91

CHAPTER XXIII.

HON. GEORGE BROWN.

By William Buckingham.

A Busy Life Shortened by a Tragic Death—The Uncrowned King of Upper Canada—Supreme in the Command of His Own Party—Forces upon Mr. John A. Macdonald the Temporary Peace which was the Prelude to Confederation—An Untiring Worker—Peter and George Brown Establish "The Banner" in Toronto—George Brown Becomes the Ally of the Liberal Ministers—Founds "The Globe"—Makes an Enemy of Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson—The Character of his Editorial Work—An Intensely Earnest Writer—A Man of Great Truth and Honesty—Makes Enemies of the Roman Catholics by His Attacks on the Pope and His Institutions—Elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1851—Gains Tory Hostility by His Defence of the Rebellion Losses Bill—A Staunch Advocate of Free Trade—Advocates the Secularization of the Clergy Reserves—The "Double Shuffle"—George Brown One of the Great Fathers of Confederation—Defeated in South Oxford in 1867—Accepts Nomination to the Upper Chamber—Declines Knighthood—His Assassination—His Untimely Death.

IN the person of George Brown, a busy and agitated life was shortened by a tragic death. But though it was a death that came from violence, he had not the satisfaction, poor though that might be, of feeling in his long resulting illness that it was occasioned by his services to the country. The assassins of McGee, Lincoln, and Garfield, made pretence of public motives for their action, but the misguided man who shot George Brown did it merely to avenge an imaginary and petty personal wrong. Mr. Brown had passed the meridian span of life with the turmoil and strife of his earlier years, and there are good grounds for believing that he had gladly sought to obtain a measure of retirement and repose amidst scenes and influences more congenial to his chastened and subdued spirit, perhaps also to his better nature, when in this wretched manner his death came. Those of his own generation, then still largely to the fore, but since that time mostly passed away, who attended his funeral to pay the last tribute of respect to his memory, and who had been stirred by him in their younger days as few men

could stir a people, while thinking again of his exploits, heard once more the trumpet notes of his calls to battle high sounding above the solemn dirges that followed him to the grave. There had been in Canada before his time, there has been in the broader Canada he helped to make, no political warrior with equal power to sound those notes so loud and clear.

In 1857, when the writer of this sketch first came to know him, and an acquaintance was formed in his service which continued to the close, Mr. Brown was in the heyday of his prodigious strength and influence. He had reached the zenith of his physical and mental power, and was being borne on by the elasticity of his mind and character, and the buoyant spirit of the young, and fast developing, and resourceful western counties of the Province at his back, towards political heights he clearly saw, though he was enabled to scale them but once, and then for a mere moment to retain his foothold.

At that period he was the uncrowned king—the self-constituted champion of the rights of Upper Canada—a championship which very few in his own party ever dreamt of questioning. One there was who in an unguarded moment at the Toronto Convention of 1867 hinted at the fear of a dictatorship. The mere suggestion was enough. The mutinous member went no further. Mr. Brown was down upon him with his disciplinary lash at once. He said: "I scorn the imputation. I stand here at the end of twenty-five years' service to the Reform party, and I defy any man to show the first act of selfishness of which I have ever been guilty with reference to that party. I defy any man to point to one word that has ever crossed my lips, as the representative of the people—one motion I ever made—one speech I ever delivered—one vote I ever gave—which is not in harmony with the principles of the Reform party of Upper Canada." The *emeute*, if any were intended, stopped right there. It had previously been manifested in the disobedience to orders of Mr. Brown's colleagues in the coalition Government, Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland, who refused to retire with their leader when he gave the signal, and who faced him on the platform on the occasion of that great gathering. But their incitement to rebellion was brought at the outset to an inglorious end. Mr. Brown was supreme in command of his own forces, and it is probably because he was so well able at that time to keep

them in hand that after a long struggle, he forced upon Mr. John A. Macdonald—a greater leader than himself, success in leadership being the criterion—the temporary peace which was the prelude to Confederation.

But to return to the earlier period. Towards the close of the fifties Mr. Brown was in the full vigor of his manhood, verging upon forty years of age, with no marriage ties to bind him to the family circle; in stature, inches above the average of his fellow-men, broad in proportion, tall and straight, and strong, as in the Miltonic metaphor, "the mast of some great ammiral," a notable figure on King street, where he was so often seen swinging and striding along that well-known Toronto thoroughfare:

> "The front of Jove himself;
> An eye like Mars, to threaten and command."

Those words "to threaten and command" are very exact in their description of George Brown. From the great frame came forth a voice mighty and unfailing, like the never-ending and over-bearing roar and rush of Niagara. He had, too, the strength of a Hercules, enabling the powerful machinery to be kept incessantly at work, so that it never needed to succumb to that weakness of feeling tired, which he so heartily despised in others. He was, in very truth, the incarnation of energy. "Put plenty of work on me," he wrote during an election campaign in 1851. "I can speak six or eight hours a day easily." Yes, all of that, and a great deal more, not only then, but onwards for twenty-five years, as his weary reporters, whose duty it was to follow him up and down the country, so well knew.

Some of his best work he had already done. Coming to Canada, in 1843, to extend in these provinces the circulation of the *British Chronicle*, a paper his father and himself had established in New York, in advocacy of the principles of the Free Church of Scotland, he saw here opened to them a promising political as well as religious field, and of this he was not slow to induce his father to join him in taking possession. *The Chronicle* in New York ceased to be published, and Peter and George Brown, in place of it,

started *The Banner* in Toronto. At that time the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government was in existence, but not really in power, and was tottering to its fall. The statesmanlike proposals of Lord Durham, following the rebellion of 1837, with Ministerial responsibility to the people as the cardinal principle of administration, were for still a further period impeded by the influence of what is known as the Family Compact. It has been happily said by Mr. Brown's biographer, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, that "the battle had been fought, and in a manner won, but the enemy had not been followed up." George Brown's aim was to secure its fruits—to wrest from unwilling hands, by constitutional measures, that which William Lyon Mackenzie had failed to accomplish by force of arms. He became the ally of the Liberal ministers. They had beaten the Tory Cabinet at the polls, but had not yet gained the victory. They were now in conflict with their titular chief, Lord Metcalfe, the Governor-General of the Canadas, and the struggle reached its height concurrently with the issue of the initial number of *The Banner*. The Ministers, successful with the people, were beaten by the representative of the Crown. Lord Metcalfe declined to take the advice of his ministers on a question of patronage, and they promptly resigned.

Then the necessity was presented for a journal more pronouncedly political than the publishers of a primarily religious paper like *The Banner* were free to make it, and George Brown took a step which was pregnant with results to Canada; he founded *The Globe*. Apt and forceful in all things, he selected for its motto a sentence from Junius, singularly suitable to the occasion: "The subject who is truly loyal to the Chief Magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures." And let the question here be asked, did Mr. Brown ever fail to assert this principle? Did either he or *The Globe* ever make submission? The answer is, never! *The Globe* and Mr. Brown have each in turn been accused of the fault they imputed to others, of being arbitrary. But whether this be true or not, it is quite safe to say they have never at any time been known to tolerate the like failing in any other person or paper.

From the moment of its inception *The Globe* became a power in the land, and by its aid the servant quickly rose to the position of master. Ordinarily

> "We build the ladder by which we rise
> From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies;
> And we mount the summit round by round."

Mr. Brown built the ladder, truly enough, but by it he leapt to the vaulted skies from the lowly earth, many rungs at a time. Almost at a bound he became the leading figure in Liberal or "Reform" politics. It is not proposed here to enter upon an academic discussion of the oft-asked question, whether Mr. Brown was greater with the pen than on the platform, but if the question really needed an answer, what better could be given than that of my Uncle Toby: "There is much to be said on both sides." In Mr. Brown both sides were strongly developed. And they were each self-developed. He had not recovered from the feeling he inspired of wonder at his power as a writer when he created a new source of wonderment at his power as a speaker. The one operated with the other, acting and re-acting in urging him rapidly onward to the climax in his career.

A clear and just distinction was lately drawn by the present editor of *The Globe* between the Canadian journals of past days and those of the present time, when he said the earlier newspapers were "political rather than national." It must be confessed that his distinguished predecessor helped to make them so. Mr. Brown was to the very core loyal and national in sentiment; but he was, over and above all, a politician. The press of Upper Canada was in every way feeble at the time of the Brown invasion. Strong language was heard on the stump and in the forum, but there was a too plentiful lack of strength in the language of the press. George Brown changed this at once. From the moment he took up the editorial pen, it became instinct with energy. He breathed into its nostrils the breath of life. Of course he roused opposition, and notably in the person of the Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson. A couple of amusing letters passed between the two men in 1868, when, on the sixty-fifth anniversary of his birth, the Christian minister, in the tone of meekness pertaining to his sacred calling raised anew

the spirit of the old Adam in the breast of his antagonist by the offer of hearty forgiveness for the personal wrongs he assumed George Brown had done him in years gone by. George Brown, from whom the offence was supposed to have come, spurned the offer, and carried the war back into Africa. The messenger who bore the peaceful missive returned with a terrible answer, quite opposed to Dr. Ryerson's hope of the enjoyment of a full measure of happiness on that glad day. "As to your personal attacks upon myself," said Brown, "those who pursue the fearless course of a public journalist and politician, as I have done for a quarter of a century, cannot expect to escape abuse and misrepresentation. . . . Your dragging my name into your controversy . . . in a matter in which I had no concern whatever, was one of those devices unhappily too often resorted to in political squabbles to be capable of more than momentary indignation." That sufficed for the political parson. The dove with the olive branch went forth no more.

Politics ought not to be everything to a newspaper, but politics were everything to *The Globe*. Signed articles were not used then any more than they are now, and of signed articles to denote the personality of this writer there was no need whatever. His individuality was constantly being revealed in paragraphs condensed and forceful in language, emphatic with black lettering, pointed with index fingers, abounding with dashes, and bristling and pungent with marks of exclamation. Sometimes the style of attack was extravagant, and, if the phrase be permissable, the conclusions were inconclusive. In point, let the curious case be cited of the puzzled reader who one day was told by *The Globe* that the "cup of the iniquity of the Government is running over," and on the following day that "the cup of the iniquity of the Government is nearly full." But if he thought the writer himself to have been in his cups he would be quite mistaken, for the Browns were the most abstemious of men, as they were purest in mind. It was not often that such a slip of the pen occurred, and when it did happen, it was attributable entirely to the desire to make the case strong. Strong, to be sure, it always was. There was little of exposition, of denunciation a very great

deal. The work was not done by proxy, but by Mr. Brown himself, by his own pen, never by the "abhorred shears," for which he had no use.

News had not then become the feature that it is in our own time. It did not therefore form a counter attraction to the philippics of the editor. Invariably the reader's first impulse, on receiving *The Globe*, damp from the press, when George Brown was editor, was to turn to the inside page for the tonic, which was invariably to be got there to keep him braced up—a new stimulant compounded "every lawful day" from the same prescription.

It is quite true the medicine had not the sweetness which is associated with pleasantry, and that it contained but few of the agreeable ingredients which are derivable from books, for Mr. Brown was not a wide reader or a witty writer. His reliance was solely upon his intense earnestness and sledge-hammer force, and these never failed of themselves to carry him successfully through. His articles were the talk of the country side, and the pabulum as well of the country press, for when the great dog barked, all the little dogs barked in chorus. In our own age we are sometimes confronted with the proposition, whether with the attractions offered by a constant supply of so many different kinds of news fresh from all quarters of the universe, editorial writing is destined to maintain its supremacy. But this was a proposition never thought of in George Brown's office or by the readers of his paper, for the supremacy of what he wrote over all other kinds of matter then obtainable was unquestionable and unquestioned. He had no patience with long arguments, nice distinctions, subtle disquisitions. His delight was in rough vigor and terse expression. Writers have been said to be like teeth, divided into incisors and molars. Mr. Brown was powerful with both. He could tear a fallacy into rags and grind it into pulp. Elegance, fine flavour, beauty of illustration, were not of his nature. The questions with him were, "Can the statement be made forceful?" "Can it be made to tell?" He was the god of the Scandinavian mythology—the god with the hammer. With a fyle of *The Globe* before him, Carlyle would have found it an easy thing, had he liked to do so, to add to his heroes and his worship of heroes, "the hero as journalist," for George Brown was a strong man after his own heart.

Brown's personality was intense, and he impressed it upon his paper with all the force of his masculine and ardent nature. He never followed, but always led. He never stood on the defensive, but was always the aggressor. He was a Napoleon, rapidly moving and constantly forming his columns for attack. Rarely in office, he had no need of explanations of policy. If denied the sense of power in the councils of the country, he felt he possessed it at the lever of the printing press. He was the shaper and creator of public opinion, not its creature. His was the directing mind, setting in motion the whole Liberal journalistic machinery of the Province. From every centre of influence in the West, the tempests which had their origin in the office of the Toronto *Globe* were wafted back with the same certainty as the storms we see nowadays starting forth in obedience to the call of the *deus ex machina* of the meteorological observatory.

It must, however, be admitted that father and son alike were on other lines than politics most rigid. They were as apostolic as Paul in advocacy of "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." With frigid and prudish minds they guarded the columns of their paper against the intrusion of reports of sport, whether in their nature healthy or unhealthy, or gambling in stocks, or the clean or unclean productions of the stage. Their pleasures and those of their readers were taken sadly in the disturbed pool of party politics; but for both there was the constant heartsickness which springs from hope deferred. Politics was the standing puddle of those days, through which was dragged the inner and outward belongings of public men, while clothing of other kinds was cleanly washed and bleached and very stiffly starched.

The debate in the British House of Commons in 1851, when Lord John Russell passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill to meet the Bull of the Pope giving territorial designations in England to Cardinal Wiseman and the Bishops of his Church, was a great occasion for *The Globe*. It attacked the Pope and his institutions with a vigor of expression which had no counterpart in the language, intemperate as it was, of the English country gentlemen themselves. Mr. Brown's extreme course in the early part of

THE HON. SIR OLIVER MOWAT, G.C.M.G., LL.D.
Prime Minister of Ontario, 1872-1896

his life when Popery was to him as the red flag to the bovine, caused him a great deal of uneasiness in after days, and was for years a serious stumbling block in the path of the Liberal party. It had much to do in causing his defeat when he ran against William Lyon Mackenzie in Haldimand in 1851, and it was in itself enough to justify the expression Mr. Brown more than once applied to himself of being a "governmental impossibility." It is natural in a country with the mixed races and diverse religious beliefs of Canada that this should be so. Intolerance of opinion on cherished subjects is a powerful weapon in pulling down, but weak in building up, and their was little statesmanship in Mr. Brown's uncompromising hostility, during all the years of his more active political life, to the Church and language of Lower Canada. In 1871, twenty years after the Haldimand defeat, when Confederation was supposed finally to have composed the religious differences of the community, Mr. Brown wrote a memorable letter of explanation and defence, intended to reunite with the Liberal party the many members of the Roman Catholic Church who had been in unison with it until 1850, but had since that time assumed an attitude of estrangement. But it must be admitted that Catholics and Protestants of the Liberal party did not act again together with the old cordiality and the old confidence in each other until Mr. Brown had ceased to take a dominant part in public affairs.

"They stood aloof, the scars remaining,
Like cliffs which had been rent asunder;
A dreary sea now flowed between."

From the issue of the *Banner* in 1843, down to Confederation in 1867, when Mr. Brown left the popular arena and the Liberal leadership was placed in commission, to so remain until, with the concurrence of his Parliamentary colleagues, it was tacitly taken up by Mr. Mackenzie, and formally conferred upon him in 1872, there was here, as there was during the long anti-slavery agitation in the United States, "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces."

The purpose of biographical writing being to proclaim the man, the way to proclaim George Brown is through his style—the way in which he proclaimed himself—*Le style c'est l'homme.* Mr. Brown's style has been dwelt

upon with some degree of fulness because it explained so much that there was about him, and because it made him the powerful factor everybody admitted him to be in the politics of Canada, thirty, forty, and fifty years ago. It was by means of his style more than anything else that he commanded the obedience of his fellowmen from the first, and retained it to the last. A master of sentences, he was slow to forsake their construction in the sanctum of *The Globe* for the acclamations which awaited him on the stump, on the platform and in Parliament. With rare reticence in a man like him, he resisted the overtures to contest a seat in the Legislative Assembly until April, 1851, when he met with failure in Haldimand, but he was returned at the general election later in the same year for Kent, which he represented until 1854. From that time until the election of 1857, he sat for Lambton. He then had the unusual honor of a double return—for North Oxford and for the city of Toronto—largely through the prancings on the streets of that good old Tory city of "the Protestant horse." Electing to sit for Toronto, he continued its member until 1863, when once more he tried a change of saddle, and became member for South Oxford. As the representative of South Oxford he took a foremost part in the measures for Confederation, which accomplished, he offered in the consequent elections of 1867 for still another seat, that of South Ontario, and suffering a reverse, he devoted himself exclusively to the combination on a large scale of journalism with practical farming, until his call to the Senate in 1873.

The great political movements of his time belong to the domain of history. In each of these movements Mr. Brown's towering person was invariably seen rising high amongst his fellows. He came in, like Lord Elgin, for a share of Tory hostility for his defence of the Rebellion Losses Bill. Lord Elgin was assailed in Montreal, and an attack was made upon the House of George Brown in Toronto. While supporting the Reform government in 1851 he gave a summary of what Liberalism had accomplished, in his address to the electors of Haldimand: (1) control over the executive government; (2) religious equality; (3) a national system of

education free from sectarian bias; (4) municipal institutions; (5) great public works; (6) an amended jury law; (7) an improved assessment system; (8) cheap postage.

A staunch advocate of free trade, he was sanguine enough to look forward to the time when the entire Customs department should be abolished, and the ports of Canada be thrown wide open to the world—a vision in statesmanship not yet realized.

Under the inspiration of *The Globe*, a considerable section of the Liberal party became impatient at the tardiness of the Baldwin-Lafontaine government, which came into power in 1847, in giving effect to their professed policy, especially in the direction of what Mr. Brown called state churchism. With the Reformers of Upper Canada nearly a unit against the bulk of the Tories in that Province in the demand for the abolition of the Clergy Reserves, and with the members of both parties from Lower Canada solidly knit to oppose it, the position of the Liberal government was one of extreme difficulty. Mr. Lafontaine held to the sacredness of the religious endowments, not as the entire belongings of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, but as the heritage of all denominations of Protestants; while Mr. Brown and his followers—about that time dubbed by Mr. Malcolm Cameron, because of their tenacity, "clear Grits"—were clamorous for their complete removal, through the agency of secularization. Finding the position at length intolerable, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine retired, and Mr. Hincks succeeded to the Liberal leadership. Mr. Hincks declared that the continuance of the agitation was calculated to endanger the Provincial Union, and that, in order to maintain the Union, if the necessary support for carrying on the Government was not to be had from the Liberals, he was prepared to join hands with the Tories. Then *The Globe* went squarely into opposition, and it continued onwards for many years to shake the foundation of governments, until the tension was relieved in 1867 by the Imperial Act of Union of the Provinces of British North America. During that period Mr. Brown saw the Clergy Reserves secularized by the ministry of Sir Allan McNab without the realization of the fear of Mr. Hincks as to the disruption of the bond between the two Provinces; and Mr. Brown was himself

successful in the next great movement to which he gave his attention by securing representation on the basis of population, and along with it the ultimate union of the Provinces of British North America.

But before passing from the Clergy Reserves question, it will be well to quote a sentence or two from the speech Mr. Brown delivered on that subject in Toronto in 1851, as illustrative of his mode of platform warfare. "I hold," he said, "the principle and practice of Establishments to be alike bad. I view the payment of religious teachers by the State to be injurious to the cause of Christ, injurious to the pastors, injurious to the people, and injurious to the State. I hold that that church which cannot be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the Christian people is not worth supporting." "It is true," he went on to say, "that learned ecclesiastics have shown from Holy Writ that Kings were to be nursing fathers, and Queens nursing mothers to the church, and that by the nicest arguments they have attempted to establish on this foundation a whole fabric of priestcraft;" a fabric which he proceeded at once to raze to the ground. "Let us vow," so concluded his peroration, "that we shall never give up the battle until victory has been fully accomplished; and let us keep ever before us the goal we must reach—no reserves! no rectories! no sectarian education! no ecclesiastical corporations! no sectarian money grants! no sectarian preferences whatever!" No one would be bold enough to say that this was the *ipsissima verba* of the speech, as it was actually delivered, or that any of his other speeches appeared in *The Globe* in the precise language of the platform, for Mr. Brown used few notes, and if a most powerful speaker, he was far from being exact, and his printed orations were subjected by him to a considerable degree of added force and editorial embellishment.

The struggle on the representation question was much the same sort of battle as the struggle on the Clergy Reserves had been. The movement, strong among the people in the western part of Upper Canada, made little advance at first in Parliament. It was resisted by the solid impact of Lower Canada, and by Liberals and Conservatives alike in the easterly constituencies of the Western Province, whose population had become stationary, and who watched the growth of counties like Huron and Bruce with a jealous eye. In

the few lines on this question in the High School history for Ontario there is a strange misconception, the writer placing at the head of the impelling forces George Brown, William McDougall and Antoine A. Dorion, and at the head of the resisting forces John A. Macdonald and George Etienne Cartier. To the latter should be added John Sandfield Macdonald and his brother, Donald A. Macdonald, both at this period, in all else but this, very advanced Liberals, and Mr. Dorion himself, who, instead of being in the movement as a co-leader with Mr. Brown, with whom he agreed on most other measures of prime importance, joined with the enemy in opposing with all his power the swelling hordes which finally swept him, the three Macdonalds, Cartier and and all else before them. Even in the Confederation debates, after the battle had gone fairly against him, Mr. Dorion spoke in words of bitterness of his former colleagues; and in a previous stage of the history of the movement, Sandfield Macdonald quite rivalled Cartier in denunciation. Cartier set off against the bone and sinew of the west, the codfish in Gaspe Basin, but Sandfield Macdonald, with equal if not greater contempt, spoke of his newly-arrived Scottish kinsmen in Huron and Bruce as Paisley weavers who were still wearing the coats of whitewash that were given them when they were taken into quarantine at Grosse Isle. John A. Macdonald certainly never said anything worse than that of George Brown's contingent, and George Brown was never more bitter towards Sandfield Macdonald in retort. Brown cared little for what John A. Macdonald might say, but a great deal for what was said by Sandfield Macdonald and Dorion; the fire within the ranks being always hottest and most destructive. Yet, on the whole, he acted towards Dorion and Sandfield Macdonald with a degree of forbearance scarcely to be expected from one of his warlike and impulsive temperament. He was very different in his treatment of William Lyon Mackenzie, the "little rebel," as he once called him; a Liberal and of all Liberals the most pronounced.

Mr. Brown never conquered the counties of his Province which verged upon Lower Canada, but the rest of Upper Canada he hammered into line; not all at once, but by repeated blows, during which many governments rose and fell, among the number his own short-lived Ministry which he formed

with the aid of Mr. Dorion, in 1858, and that of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, which succumbed in 1864, after a feeble and fitful existence. Sandfield Macdonald wanted to substitute for the increased representation of Upper Canada according to its population the unworkable project of the two majorities. This meant that the government of the day must command a majority from each Province. His scheme of course failed, and he had in turn to retire from office.

It is not proposed here to more than touch upon the topic so familiar to the past generation by the name of the "double shuffle." This event was the defeat of the sometimes Macdonald-Cartier, at other times Cartier-Macdonald, government, through the reiterated demands from the west for representation according to its increasing population; the call by Sir Edmund Head to his counsels of Mr. Brown and Mr. Dorion; their immediate defeat on a resolution of non-confidence in the House, where they had vacated their seats by acceptance of office; the refusal by the Governor-General of a dissolution; and the taking by the previous Ministers of double sets of oaths and offices, so as to evade the necessity of returning to their constituents for re-election. Such was the "double shuffle." But the discussion of the subject is too long and too controversial for the pages of this work. Perhaps not less so is the controversy on the fatherhood of Confederation. But as the writer has expressed in other ways his opinion on the tenability of Mr. Brown's claim to this national distinction he may be allowed to state, as he proposes to do in a paragraph, the grounds upon which the claim is based, as an ending to the brief outline he has given of the principal events of Mr. Brown's most active life.

So far back as the early part of 1858 Mr. Brown suggested to Mr. Holton of Montreal, as the remedy for the increasing difficulties of government, a comprehensive union. "A federal union, it appears to me," he said, "cannot be entertained for Canada (Upper and Lower Canada, as Canada then was) alone, but when agitated must include all British America." It is true he despaired in his time of its accomplishment, thinking, as he added, that "we will be past caring for politics when that measure is finally achieved;" but in this respect under estimating the potency of the demands for representation by

population, through whose agency it was not long afterwards brought about. In 1859 Mr. Brown called a convention in Toronto, and advocated in lieu of the existing legislative union the adoption of the federal principle. He moved in the same sense at the ensuing session of Parliament. The policy thus outlined was, it is true, limited in its application to Upper and Lower Canada. For its further extension the country was not yet prepared. But events were moving with great rapidity. In the session of 1864, Mr. Brown took advantage of the weakness of the Taché government, which had succeeded the government of Sandfield Macdonald, to obtain a Committee on constitutional changes, and as Chairman of the Committee, on the 14th June of that year, he reported in favor of the federative system to be applied either to Upper and Lower Canada alone, or to the whole of British North America. The report was adopted with only three dissentients, one of the three being Mr. John A. Macdonald. Next day the Taché Government, with Mr. Macdonald as its leading spirit, was defeated on a direct vote of want of confidence. Mr. Brown's time had now come. He might have taken advantage of his triumph to try to form a government, but had he succeeded in doing so, no degree of permanency was possible in the state of parties then existing, and he took the patriotic and wiser course of asking his opponents to confer upon the basis of Confederation. Meetings between the hitherto hostile leaders were arranged for; a coalition government was formed, with Mr. Brown, Mr. Mowat and Mr. McDougall as Liberal members; and on July 1, 1867, Greater Canada sprang into existence as a confederated country. Mr. Brown remained sufficiently long with his strange associates to see the enterprise far enough on the pathway to insure its ultimate success, but his dislike of restraint induced him to quit the ship before it was fairly launched, and towards the close of 1865 he changed the close and stifling atmosphere of the Cabinet for the open air of freedom so necessary to him. Mr. Goldwin Smith once said in the *Bystander*, "The parent of Confederation was Dead Lock." Yes, but who produced Dead Lock? Who but George Brown? George Brown brought the disease to its crisis, and George Brown prescribed the cure.

In the general elections of 1867, following Confederation, Mr. Brown was defeated in South Oxford, so that he was excluded from the first Parliament of united Canada, and from that time onward he showed but little disposition to re-enter public life. He accepted nomination to the Upper Chamber in December, 1873, but allowed a whole session to pass without taking his seat. In 1874 he negotiated for Canada a treaty of commerce with the United States, but like the measures of amity between England and the United States of later times, it met its grave in the Congressional Senate. On the death of Mr. Crawford in 1875, Mr. Brown was offered the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, but declined it, rightly concluding that it was a position incompatible with the editorial direction of *The Globe*, and declaring again, as he had often declared before, that he would rather be editor of *The Globe* than receive any dignity or office in the gift of either the Crown or the people. In 1879 a knighthood was a second time pressed upon him, and it was thought that he would at last bend his form and take it, for he went to Montreal to meet the Governor-General, who was charged with the duty of investiture. But he surprised His Excellency and all who were not in the secret, by putting it from him with an expression of his thanks. With change of sky he had changed his mind; rather let it be said that he had never been sufficiently imbued with the notion of acceptance, and, convinced against his will, his opinion had remained the same.

Had he taken the honor, he would not have lived long to enjoy it. A few months afterwards, in his sixty-second year, in March, 1880, a man named Bennett, who had been discharged for misconduct from the service of *The Globe*, shot him with a pistol. No one thought that the wound thus inflicted was likely to prove fatal in its consequences; least of all Mr. Brown himself. But the occurrence aroused him to preternatural activity, and in this frame of mind, refusing to take needed bodily and mental repose, on a bright Sunday in the ensuing May he died. He had insisted on continuing to do business in his chamber, where he held meetings and declared dividends. Perhaps not so much his hurt, as his characteristic disregard of it, as being a mere trifle, prevented his recovery. In scenes of excitement he had passed the many years of his toilsome life; in disquiet he spent the

MONUMENT AT OTTAWA TO SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

weeks of weary sickness that had brought it to a close; and not till death was the perturbed spirit to find repose. After his constant buffetings with the world; of achievements which brought with them so few of the fruits of victory; of strifes and disappointments; of the sense of possession of great powers, and of their use to the accomplishment of such poor personal results; who shall say that the restful ending of it all, when it came to him was unwelcome? His had been the stormy life of Lear, and at its going out the sympathetic ear might have caught the wailing tones of Kent's refrain:

> "Vex not his ghost. O, let him pass! he hates him,
> That would upon the rack of this tough world
> Stretch him out longer."

Followed by Edgar's reflective response: "He is gone, indeed"; and Kent's rejoinder:

> "The wonder is he hath endured so long."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

BY DAVID CREIGHTON.

Sir John A Macdonald for fifty years the Leading Parliamentarian in Canada—Of Scotch Parentage—Educated at Kingston—Begins the Study of Law—His Early Associations with Oliver Mowat—His Defence of Von Shoultz—Enters the Political Arena as a Tory—A Life-Long Imperialist—In 1847 Appointed Receiver-General—Opposes Rebellion Losses Bill—Endeavors to Have Seat of Government Moved to Kingston—Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Brown—Attitude of "The Globe"—Introduces a Bill for the Secularization of the Clergy Reserves—Leader in the Assembly—Called on by the Governor-General to Form a Ministry—Ottawa Chosen as the Seat of Government—The "Double Shuffle"—The Trent Affair—A Dead-Lock in the Canadian Parliament—A Federal Union Proposed—Preliminary Steps Towards Confederation—John A. Macdonald, a Leader in the Confederation Movement—Receives Knighthood—The Building up of the Great Dominion—Difficulties between the United States and Canada—The Treaty of Washington Ratified—Made an Imperial Privy Councillor—The Canadian Pacific Railway Projected—Mr. L. S. Huntington's Charges against the Government—Sir John out of Office—Once More in Power—His Cabinet—The National Policy—Holds the Confidence of the Canadian People—His Last Great Triumph and His Death—The Empire Mourns Canada's Greatest Statesman.

TO give a sketch of the career of one who during well-nigh half a century took an active part, and for the greater portion of that time the leading part, in the Parliamentary government of Canada, who exercised a most potent share in moulding the destiny of the Dominion and occupied a more conspicuous position before the public than any other Canadian statesman,—is practically to write the history of Canada during that period. Within the limits to which the present work necessarily confines me only the more prominent features in the career of the Right Hon. Sir John Alexander Macdonald, P. C., G. C. B., can therefore be touched upon.

Although of an ancient Highland family, his parents, Hugh Macdonald and Helen Shaw, had removed from Dornoch, in Sutherlandshire, to Glasgow, when John Alexander, their second son, was born on the 11th of January, 1815. Mr. Hugh Macdonald, not thriving in Glasgow, resolved to try his fortune in

the then wilderness of Upper Canada, whither he emigrated with his young family in 1820, when the future Prime Minister was but five years of age. After a brief residence in Kingston he removed to Adolphustown, in the county of Lennox, to start shop-keeping, subsequently going across the Bay to the Stone Mills in Prince Edward County, where for some years he kept a grist-mill. But ill-success seems to have dogged his footsteps wherever he went and, eventually, he returned to Kingston broken down in health and died there in 1836. Of the early days of young Macdonald little need be said more than that they were spent around the romantic shores of the beautiful Bay of Quinte. At the age of fifteen, after such common-school education as those early days afforded, and a brief career at the Kingston Grammar School, he had to leave school in order to help in the support of the family, and commence to fight his way up to an eminence not hitherto attained by any Colonial statesman. Choosing the profession of law, he entered as a student the office of Mr. George Mackenzie of Kingston, being called to the Bar in 1836 when he was twenty-one. He immediately commenced to practise his profession in Kingston. His office was but a few months opened when there came as a student to him a lad named Oliver Mowat, and subsequently another named Alexander Campbell, and it is often thought of as a remarkable fact that the three young men thus associated in their early days should all have become eminent in Canadian politics, and each be knighted by her Majesty for services to the Empire. Sir Alexander Campbell, after a lengthy career as a member of the Government of Canada, passed away while holding the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. Sir Oliver Mowat, after the unparalleled record of nearly a quarter of a century, uninterruptedly, in the Premiership of Ontario, contributed largely to the final success of his party in Dominion politics by joining them in that arena, becoming for a brief time Minister of Justice on the formation of the Laurier Cabinet, afterward spending his declining years as Lieutenant-Governor of his native Province Meanwhile the one-time tutor in law of the other two had gone to his rest after a public career of nearly half a century, during which he had achieved a prominence, not only in Canada but in the Empire at large, such as no other British statesman outside the British Isles had ever attained.

Many stories are yet told by the old inhabitants of Kingston of the young lawyer, whose genial ways, added to his cleverness, had early won him popularity and business. But the chief incident of his legal career was the defence of Von Shoultz for his participation in the rebellion of 1837-8, or rather in the raid from the United States which took place in connection with it. A number of misguided Americans, who imagined that they had only to show themselves on Canadian soil to be joined by a population groaning under oppression and ready to cast off the yoke of the British, made a dash across the St. Lawrence, took possession of a windmill near Prescott, and kept it for several days till surrounded by the British forces. Von Shoultz, a young Polish gentleman, who too late regretted having been misled, was, with other leaders, tried by court-martial for the offence and was defended by Mr. Macdonald. There was not much chance for defence, as Von Shoultz pleaded guilty, and, with nine others, suffered the extreme penalty of the law, but his connection with the case added to the rising fame of the young lawyer. With such stirring events taking place in Canada, it was natural that a young man possessed of the double qualifications of talent and ambition should turn his attention to politics, and the zest for a political career was heightened by the seat of Government, at that time itinerant, being moved to Kingston in 1841. Although he had served as Alderman for Frontenac Ward in the Kingston City Council, it was not till 1844, when the Draper Ministry—succeeding to office when Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine had resigned on account of their quarrel with the Governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe—appealed to the people, that Mr. Macdonald entered the political arena. In the general election he consented to contest Kingston against Mr. Manahan. He entered political life as a Tory. What afterwards became known as the Liberal-Conservative party, resulting from a fusion of factions, and practically the creation of Mr. Macdonald himself, had no existence at that time.

It would be unjust to the memory of the Reformers of those days to say that any considerable portion of them favoured a severance of Canada from the British Empire; but the Provinces had recently passed through a rebellion in which foreigners from the United States had been invited to an

armed invasion of Canada, and the feelings evoked had not yet died away. Of the staunch loyalty of Mr. Baldwin there could be no question, but most of those who favored the rebellion, and some who had made no secret of their fondness for Republican institutions, attached themselves to the party led by him, and, as often happens, the party was judged by the public, and especially by its opponents, from its extreme men rather than from its leaders. Although singular, it is therefore not at all surprising that the same sentiment which dominated his whole political career, and found vent in the memorable words of his last manifesto to the people of Canada, should be found in the foreground of Mr. Macdonald's first address to the electors of Kingston, when he declared that: "The prosperity of Canada depends upon its permanent connection with the Mother-Country, and I will resist to the utmost any attempt (from whatever quarter it may come) which may tend to weaken that union." Having gained a seat in the Assembly, Mr. Macdonald seems in his early sessions to have applied himself more to the study of constitutional and current questions than to making himself conspicuous by speaking. But, in view of the recently revived question of differential duties, it is interesting to note that in the session of 1846 he spoke strongly on a resolution for differential duties in favour of Great Britain, contending that: "The danger to our markets is not from British but American manufactures; and while British manufactures coming through the United States must, of course, pay the high duty, coming by the St. Lawrence they will pay an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent., and if honourable gentlemen wish the country to enjoy that protection they must vote with the Ministry."

Although he was not making himself conspicuous, the young member was nevertheless attracting the attention of his leaders, and in 1846 Mr. Draper expressed a strong desire that Mr. Macdonald should join the Ministry, although it was not till 1847 that he took his first Ministerial position, that of Receiver-General. Mr. Draper went on the Bench soon after, and the Government, after carrying through the session on a narrow majority, were defeated at the general election in December of that year. The most notable event in the history of the second Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry, which followed, was the introduction of a Bill in the session of 1849

for the indemnification of persons in Lower Canada whose property had been destroyed in the Rebellion of 1837-38. The cry was at once raised that it was proposed to compensate rebels as well as loyal citizens, and the feeling it evoked, especially among the English-speaking population of the Lower Province was intense. Although fought bitterly by the Conservative Opposition, Mr. Macdonald, amongst others, speaking against it, the Bill was carried by a large majority. The excitement of the populace culminated when Lord Elgin came to the House, then sitting in Montreal, to give assent to the Bill. He was received with hootings and his carriage pelted with missiles as he drove away. Nor did the excitement end there, for in the evening the rising tide carried the mob to the Assembly, where the doors were forced, the members dispersed, and the furniture smashed. Someone applied a torch to the edifice, and by morning the Parliament buildings were a smoking ruin. Though temporary premises were secured and the session hastily brought to a close, this mob violence lost the seat of Government to Montreal. A number of other cities were bidding for it, and Mr. Macdonald moved that Kingston be the location, but a removal to Toronto was decided upon, and the Legislature alternated between that city and Quebec every four years till 1865.

In the latter part of 1851, the Hon. Mr. Baldwin having retired because he found himself in a minority from Upper Canada, although the majority of the whole House agreed with him in opposing a bill to abolish the Court of Chancery, and the Hon. Mr. Lafontaine also retiring from public life, the Hon. Francis Hincks was called upon to re-organize the Ministry. Although Sir Allan McNab was the nominal leader of the Conservatives, Mr. Macdonald was recognized as the moving spirit of the party, and he found an effective ally in the Hon. George Brown in his efforts to oust the Reform or Liberal Ministry. It is a noteworthy fact that although for nearly thirty years this gentleman was the most bitter and powerful opponent Mr. Macdonald had, the Conservative leader on more than one occasion gained a victory by turning to account the quarrels of his forceful antagonist with his own party friends. Mr. Brown, who was a man of strong feelings and more than ordinary vigour, had through his newspaper, *The Globe*, been

working up public sentiment in Upper Canada to demand the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, and he now came out in pronounced hostility to the Hincks-Morin Ministry. The Imperial Parliament in 1853 empowered the Canadian Parliament to deal with the question, and when, in 1854, the Houses met without reference in the Speech to the matter, or to the other burning question in Lower Canada of the abolition of Seigneurial Tenure, an amendment was moved regretting that there was no reference to the settlement of these questions. It was of no avail that Mr. Hincks was known to be in favour of Secularization, and, if given time, would undoubtedly have dealt with it. Mr. Brown and his friends joined hands with the Tory Opposition, and the Government was defeated by 42 to 29. The Ministry immediately brought down the Governor to prorogue the House—an unique proceeding in Parliamentary government, as no Act had been passed, and the passing of one was necessary to constitute a session.

A dissolution and general election followed immediately, and when the House met in September, Mr. Brown and his followers again made common cause with the Conservatives in order to defeat the Government, which in a few days was forced to resign. Sir Allan McNab as leader of the regular Opposition was called upon to form a Ministry, but found himself in a difficult position, as his followers numbered not quite a third of the House, while those of the late Ministry exceeded either one of the parties opposed to them. It was here that the genius of Mr. Macdonald for solving difficulties, so often to be tested in the future, came into play. He saw that the Moderate Reformers of Lower Canada were irreconcilably opposed to Mr. George Brown and those who acted with him, and he made overtures resulting in M. Morin and his colleagues in the Lower Canada wing of the late Government joining the new Ministry. Mr. Hincks, although he did not join the Government, gave his assent to the arrangement, and a couple of his Upper Canada friends were taken in. This coalition marks the formation of what has ever since been known in Canada as the Liberal-Conservative party. The elections having shown unmistakably the feelings of the people, the defeated Government had announced in the Speech from the Throne measures for the abolition of Seigneurial Tenure and for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves.

Practically the same programme was adhered to by the new Ministry. In October the Hon. Mr. Macdonald introduced a bill for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, while the Hon. L. T. Drummond introduced one abolishing Seigneurial Tenure in Lower Canada. The two measures passed through the House concurrently, and thus were forever set at rest two great questions which had long agitated the Provinces. Mr. Brown and his followers were furious when they found that they had co-operated with the Conservatives in turning out a Reform Government only to find a coalition formed which left them in a hopeless minority, and after objecting to some of the details were found voting against the secularization measure when it eventually passed.

Sir Allan McNab was too old and set in his ways to be the leader of a progressive party like that newly formed, and dissatisfaction soon sprang up, culminating in the defection of the Liberal wing of the Government and forcing a reconstruction in 1856, with the Hon. E. P. Taché in the Upper House as nominal Premier, while the Hon. John A. Macdonald as Leader in the Assembly was virtually in command. On the 25th November, 1857, Colonel Taché retired and Mr. Macdonald was at once asked by the Governor-General to form a Ministry, which he did, taking the Hon. George E. Cartier as Leader of the Lower Canadian section. A dissolution and general election immediately followed. At the union of the Provinces in 1840 each of them had been given an equal representation in Parliament, although Lower Canada had at that time the larger population. The more rapid growth of the Upper Province had, however, long placed it in the lead, and Mr. George Brown had for some time been agitating through *The Globe* and in Parliament, for representation according to population. He had also started an onslaught on Roman Catholic sectarian schools, and these two subjects formed the battle cries in Upper Canada, carrying it against the Government, although, as was natural with such questions in agitation, the Ministry gained a sweeping victory in Lower Canada. Although Mr. Macdonald saw clearly enough that with the rapidly increasing population of the Upper Province a re-adjustment of representation on the basis of population must eventually come, he took the ground that the arrangement

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of 1840 was in the nature of a compact which should not be disturbed without the consent of both parties to it, and he was consequently placed in the trying position of having to govern the country while in a minority in his own Province. The cry of "Lower Canadian domination" was therefore persistently and effectively hurled at him throughout Upper Canada. This was not without some compensating advantage, for it rallied to his side the people of Lower Canada and laid the foundation of that faithful attachment which made him in his after career, although a Protestant and resident of another Province, more powerful among the French and Catholic population than any of their own compatriots.

It had been long felt that the perambulatory system for Parliament ought to be ended, and various attempts were made to fix upon some place as the permanent Seat of Government where suitable buildings could be erected. But local jealousies defeated every attempt, till in 1857 the Legislature referred the question to Her Majesty. In 1858 her decision was given in favour of Ottawa, and such an opportunity being one not to be overlooked in party warfare, a resolution was moved that Ottawa ought not to be the Seat of Government. Although it was opposed by the Ministry, who felt bound to stand by Her Majesty's decision, the motion rallied the local influences of the other aspiring cities, and these combined with the regular Liberal Opposition, carried it by 64 to 50. Mr. George Brown immediately said that this was a condemnation of the Government and to test it he would move the adjournment of the House. The test was accepted by the Ministry, and they were sustained by a vote of 50 to 61. But Mr. Macdonald saw that he would put his opponent in an unpopular position if they took office on a programme of opposition to Her Majesty's decision after she had been invited to give it, and next day, on the assembling of the House, announced the resignation of the Ministry. Mr. Brown was asked to form a Government, and undertook the task, taking Mr. A. A. Dorion as his colleague for Lower Canada, and completing his Ministry on the 2nd of August. Immediately the announcement was made in the House, on the usual motion for a writ for a new election for one of the seats vacated by the acceptance of office, Mr. H. L. Langevin moved to add that the new Ministry did not possess the confidence

of the House or the country. As the new Ministers were out of the House, and could not speak for themselves, the members of the late Ministry refrained from speaking, but the amendment was carried by the decisive vote of 71 to 31, a majority of each Province voting against the Government. Mr. Brown then applied for a dissolution, which was refused, the Governor-General having warned him before taking office that a dissolution would not be granted, and the Brown-Dorion Ministry resigned on the 4th August after having lasted only two days. The Governor asked Mr. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Galt to form a Ministry, but he declined, and the Hon. George E. Cartier was then sent for. He asked Mr. Macdonald to help him, and practically the old Ministry, with a change of offices, came back to power.

And now took place a transaction which has passed into history under the name of the "double shuffle," and which gave rise to many bitter discussions at the time. The rule under the British Parliamentary system being that members accepting Cabinet offices thereby vacate their seats and must be re-elected, the members of the Brown-Dorion Ministry were out of the House and seeking re-election. But it was discovered that the law provided that a member resigning one Cabinet position and accepting another within thirty days need not be re-elected; so the members of the old Government took temporarily other offices than they had formerly occupied, and then, changing back into their old positions, went on with the work of Parliament without the trouble of personal re-election. The effect of this move on their opponents need hardly be described. They were furious in finding out how they had been outwitted, the only result of the adverse vote by which they defeated the Government having been to put themselves out of the House and to make new elections necessary, while the members of the old Government, re-installed in office, were calmly going on with the business of the House. Mr. Brown and his colleagues, with their followers, made the country ring with denunciations of the "double shuffle." They afterwards brought the matter up in the House, which sustained the Government, and carried it to the courts, where it was decided that the course pursued had been quite constitutional.

The general election of 1861 presented the spectacle of Mr. Macdonald and his former student, Mr. Oliver Mowat, pitted against each other at the polls. Mr. Mowat, being a native of Kingston, and with extensive connections there, the Liberals thought that his candidacy would give a chance of defeating Mr. Macdonald, who, however, won an easy victory. The danger of war with the United States over the Trent Affair in 1861 having made painfully apparent the defenceless position of the country had war unfortunately ensued, the Ministry, in consultation with the Imperial authorities, devised a scheme of defence, including fortifications, and brought it before Parliament in the Militia Bill of 1862. But objection was taken, especially by the Lower Canadians, to the expense, and the Government was defeated—although Mr. Macdonald had the satisfaction of knowing that he was sustained by a majority of seven votes from his own Province. The Ministry having resigned, the Governor sent for Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, who, in conjunction with Mr. Sicotte, from Lower Canada, formed a Government. Although Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was of the same political party, he had from the start the bitter hostility of Mr. George Brown, who once more played into the hands of his old opponent, and so assailed the new Government, both personally and through *The Globe*, that it was defeated in a want of confidence Resolution moved by Mr. John A. Macdonald in May, 1863. The House was immediately dissolved, and an election brought on, but before the polling a general shuffle in the Ministry took place, securing the support of Mr. Brown through the elections. The Government obtained a small majority in the House, but was in a minority from Lower Canada, and therefore found it practically impossible to carry on business, although its resignation did not take place till March, 1864. The Provincial Secretary, Mr. Ferguson Blair, was called on and attempted to form a Government, but failed; after which Sir E. P. Taché, with the assistance of Mr. John A. Macdonald, got together a Ministry. But parties were so evenly balanced that it was impossible for either side to govern, and after struggling on for a few weeks the new Ministry was, on the 14th of June, defeated by a vote of 60 to 58, thus bringing on the memorable deadlock, which partly led to the most important epoch in the history of Canada.

Next day, while everybody was discussing what ought to be done in the emergency—two Ministries having fallen within a few weeks, and it being manifest that another, if formed, would at once share the same fate—Mr. George Brown, in conversation with Mr. Alexander Morris, intimated his willingness to meet with his opponents and talk over the situation. He was immediately taken at his word. Mr. John A. Macdonald and Mr. A. T. Galt waited on him at his hotel, and from that interview sprang what afterwards developed into the Dominion of Canada. The union of the four Provinces, consummated on the first of July, 1867, having led to such great results, there has been much controversy as to who should have the honour of being considered the "Father of Confederation." In the sense of having first suggested it, it would be difficult to decide, for a union of the British North American colonies had been a dream of statesmen for a great many years, and had on various occasions been advocated in more or less definite form. But until this memorable meeting no practical step toward it had really been taken. History will record it to the credit of Mr. George Brown that at the critical juncture he sank his personal feelings, and came forward to co-operate with his opponents in a patriotic attempt to extricate the country from its difficulties—and neither friends nor opponents who remember the warm animosities he cherished, and know what an effort it must have cost him, will be sparing in their praise for his patriotic act. But when this interview took place it does not appear that Mr. Brown was prepared to take up the question of Confederation at once. Indeed the official memorandum shows that when Messrs. Macdonald and Galt proposed a Federal union of all the British North American Provinces as a remedy for the difficulty, he said that this would not be acceptable to the people of Upper Canada; that though a Federal union was desirable, and would come eventually, it was remote; and he proposed "Parliamentary reform, based on population, without regard to the separating line between Upper and Lower Canada." Messrs. Macdonald and Galt, sticking to their proposal, Mr. Brown acquiesced in its being tried, and although averse at first to entering the Government, finally came in with Messrs. William Macdougall and Oliver Mowat to help in carrying the scheme through.

The important events which followed mark the greatest epoch in the history of Canada. It is necessary in a sketch such as the present to touch but lightly upon them. A Convention having been called at Charlottetown to discuss a proposed union between Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, a deputation from the Canadian Government attended, and took the Convention by storm with the great scheme they had to propose. It was subsequently considered at Quebec and resolutions passed with which eventually delegates from the different Provinces went to England and secured the passage of the British North America Act. Although great service was rendered by Messrs. Tilley of New Brunswick, Tupper of Nova Scotia, Cartier of Lower Canada, Macdougall of Upper Canada, and others whose names will always be illustrious in Canadian history for the part they took in these events, it is conceded on all sides that the one conspicuous figure throughout was that of John A. Macdonald. His was the directing mind and his the moulding hand which practically shaped the constitution of the Dominion of Canada. He was knighted by Her Majesty, and when the Act took effect on the 1st of July, 1867, he had the honour of being called to be the first Premier of the Dominion.

In the elections which followed Sir John had once more to meet the bitter opposition of Mr. George Brown, who had left the Government before Confederation was consummated. But notwithstanding this formidable obstacle, the Government carried Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick by large majorities, although in Nova Scotia the Anti-Confederates made almost a clean sweep—Dr. Tupper being the only supporter returned from that Province. From this time till the next general election in 1872 were years of arduous labour, which might fairly be called an era of nation building. Never in a similar length of time has any other country made such strides in Territorial expansion as did Canada during that period. The machinery of the new Dominion had to be got under way, laws had to be devised and passed organizing the various departments of State, the Inter-colonial Railway had to be located and its construction proceeded with. Such works as these latter might have been considered sufficient to task the energies of Premier and Government for one Parliamentary term; but Sir John started with

large conceptions of the future in store for Canada and lost no time in setting to work to carry out his grand ideas. Steps were at once taken to acquire for the Dominion sovereignity over the vast British region which stretched westward from Ontario until it reached the Province of British Columbia on the Pacific, and northwards to the Arctic Ocean; and, after a substantial payment to extinguish the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, this was achieved and a commencement of organization made for the new territory by erecting and admitting into Confederation the Province of Manitoba in 1870. British Columbia was next approached and brought into the Dominion in 1871, and then Prince Edward Island, which had held out when the original Union was being formed, was wooed and won in 1872—thus completing Canadian sway from ocean to ocean and from the Great Lakes to the North Pole.

Meanwhile a number of irritating questions had arisen between Great Britain and the United States, and Sir John had the honour of being selected, along with four British statesmen, as one of the Imperial Commissioners to arrange a settlement. It was the first time a Colonial statesman had ever been associated in treaty-making on behalf of the Empire. When he returned he had to encounter bitter criticism, not so much for what the Treaty of Washington contained, as for its failure to deal with subjects which Canada had a fair right to have considered, but he fought it through Parliament and left his vindication for the future. It has come since his death, for his letters to his colleagues published in Mr. Joseph Pope's *Memoirs* show how stoutly he contended for Canada's rights—being overborne by the other British Commissioners who for Imperial reasons did not wish to have Canada's claims pressed at that time. After the Treaty of Washington was ratified, Sir John was made an Imperial Privy Councillor in recognition of his great services to the Empire, being the first Colonial statesman upon whom that high honour had been conferred. One of the terms on which British Columbia had been admitted to the Union was that a railway across the continent, to connect the railway system of Canada with the Province on the Pacific coast, should be commenced and constructed within ten years. This was immediately assailed as the height of folly. British Columbia was

described as a " sea of mountains " ; it was said that from the Red River Valley eastward there was nothing but a succession of rocks and muskeg ; that the whole length of the line would be through an uninhabited wilderness ; that such an undertaking, which was enough to task the energies of an old and wealthy country, would certainly crush the new Dominion under a burden from which it could never recover ; that to undertake it for the sake of a few people on the Pacific Coast was sheer madness. Sir John, however, was not to be daunted. He believed that such a line would be the making of Canada, and with the help of his energetic colleague, Sir Charles Tupper, he resolutely went ahead.

But while the greatest triumph of his life was connected with this magnificent work, perhaps the greatest trial of his career was associated with its early days. Parliament having decided that it would be preferable to have the Pacific Railway built by an incorporated company rather than by the Government direct, Sir Hugh Allan, of Montreal, and Hon. D. L. Macpherson, of Toronto, each promoted companies to undertake the work. When the elections of 1872 were over someone obtained access to the private correspondence of Sir Hugh Allan's solicitor. Based on the information which the Opposition was thus put in possession of, when the House met in 1873, Mr. L. S. Huntington made a series of charges against the Government to the effect that they had sold the Charter for the Pacific Railway to Sir Hugh Allan for a large sum of money with which to carry on the elections. There was great excitement throughout the country, and the proceedings of the Royal Commission, consisting of Judges Day, Polette and Gowan, appointed to take evidence on the charges, were followed with intense interest. The charge that the Government had bartered the Pacific Railway Charter to Sir Hugh Allan was not sustained by the evidence—in fact it was shown that Sir John had refused to give the work to the Company promoted by Sir Hugh and had insisted that a new Company from which Sir Hugh's American associates were excluded should be formed out of the two. It was also proved that he had given Sir Hugh Allan no advantage over others. It

was, however, admitted that Sir Hugh, who was very wealthy and had great interests at stake in addition to his prospective interest in the Pacific Railway, (and felt that a change of Ministry would be disastrous to them), gave large sums of money in the elections to sustain the Government, and the fact of accepting such sums from a prospective public contractor raised a feeling that it was difficult for the Ministry to stand up against. The House met in October to receive the evidence and a fierce debate ensued. Sir John did not wait for a vote, but after one of the most spirited speeches he ever delivered, tendered the resignation of the Ministry and vacated office.

The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie was called on to form a Government, and securing a dissolution, carried the country by a very large majority. It was not long, however, till the rising tide of Sir John's popularity began again to manifest what a wonderful hold he had upon the public of Canada, and the movement was accelerated by a new element which now came into Canadian politics. The low tariff of Canada, which had been a sufficient protection while the industries of the United States were handicapped by the War of the Rebellion, now offered little obstacle to the traders of the latter country flooding the Canadian market with their surplus of manufactured and natural products whenever it suited them to do so—whilst the Canadian products were religiously excluded from the United States markets by a high tariff. Strong representations were made to the Government that this was unfair to Canadian manufacturers and agriculturists, who ought to be afforded some protection against the inroads of their Southern neighbors. But Mr. Mackenzie was a free-trader who had the courage to stand by his convictions, and he refused to yield to appeals made by his own political friends, as well as by his opponents. Sir John, as leader of the Opposition, voiced the popular demand by resolutions which he introduced into the House. They were voted down, but when the elections came in September, 1878, he was once more returned to power by an overwhelming majority, and on October 17 ensuing, his Cabinet was duly announced.

The following statement gives the Ministry, as it existed, with occasional change, until the death of the Premier on June 6, 1891 :

THE HON. SIR RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT, G.C.M.G.

OFFICE	NAME	DATE OF APPOINTMENT
Premier	Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald	Oct. 17, 1878
Minister of Justice	Hon. James Macdonald	Oct. 17, 1878
	Hon. Sir Alexander Campbell	May 20, 1881
	Hon. Sir John Thompson	Sept. 25, 1885
Minister of Finance	Hon. Sir S. L. Tilley	Oct. 17, 1878
	Hon. A. W. McLellan	Dec. 10, 1885
	Hon. Sir Charles Tupper	Jan. 27, 1887
	Hon. George E. Foster	May 29, 1888
Minister of Public Works	Hon. Sir Charles Tupper	Oct. 17, 1878
	Hon. Sir Hector L. Langevin	May 20, 1879
Minister of Railways and Canals	Hon. Sir Charles Tupper	May 20, 1879
	Hon. J. H. Pope	Sept. 25, 1885
	Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald	Nov. 28, 1889
Minister of Militia and Defence	Hon. L. F. R. Masson	Oct. 19, 1878
	Hon. Sir Alexander Campbell	Jan. 16, 1880
	Hon. Sir Adolph Caron	Nov. 8, 1880
Minister of Customs	Hon. Mackenzie Bowell	Oct. 19, 1878
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. J. H. Pope	Oct. 17, 1878
	Hon. John Carling	Sept. 25, 1885
Postmaster-General	Hon. Sir Hector L. Langevin	Oct. 19, 1878
	Hon. Sir Alexander Campbell	May 20, 1879
	Hon. John O'Connor	Jan. 16, 1880
	Hon. Sir Alexander Campbell	Nov. 8, 1880
	Hon. John O'Connor	May 20, 1881
	Hon. John Carling	May 23, 1882
	Hon. Sir Alexander Campbell	Sept. 25, 1885
	Hon. A. W. McLellan	Jan. 17, 1887
	Hon. John Haggart	Aug. 3, 1888
Minister of Marine and Fisheries	Hon. J. C. Pope	Oct. 19, 1878
	Hon. A. W. McLellan	July 10, 1882
	Hon. George E. Foster	Dec. 10, 1885
	Hon. C. H. Tupper	May 31, 1888
Minister of Inland Revenue	Hon. L. F. G. Baby	Oct. 26, 1878
	Hon. J. C. Atkins	Nov. 8, 1880
	Hon. John Costigan	May 23, 1882
Minister of Interior	Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald	Oct. 17, 1878
	Hon. Sir D. L. Macpherson	Oct. 17, 1883
	Hon. Thomas White	Aug. 5, 1885
	Hon. Edgar Dewdney	Aug. 3, 1888
President of the Council	Hon. John O'Connor	Oct. 17, 1878
	Hon. L. F. R. Masson	Jan. 6, 1880
	Hon. Joseph A. Mousseau	Nov. 8, 1880
	Hon. A. W. McLellan	May 20, 1881
	Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald	Oct. 17, 1883
	Hon. C. C. Colby	Nov. 28, 1889
Receiver-General	Hon. Sir Alexander Campbell	Nov. 8, 1878
Secretary of State	Hon. J. C. Aitkins	Oct. 19, 1878

	NAME	DATE OF APPOINTMENT
	Hon. John O'Connor	Nov. 8, 1880
	Hon. Joseph A. Mousseau	May 20, 1881
	Hon. J. A. Chapleau	July 29, 1882
Without office	Hon. R. D. Wilmot	Nov. 8, 1878
	Hon. Sir David Macpherson	Feb. 11, 1880
	Hon. Frank Smith	July. 29, 1882
	Hon. J. J. C. Abbott	May 13, 1887

The carrying out of the promise to protect Canadian industries was the first work undertaken after the elections and in the Session of 1879 Sir Leonard Tilley, as Finance Minister, introduced the tariff which has since become known as the National Policy, and which, though strongly assailed, was sustained at three successive general elections thereafter—in fact as long as Sir John lived.

Efforts to get capitalists to undertake the construction of the Pacific Railway having failed, the Mackenzie Government had gone on with portions of the line as a Government work, but it had made slow progress. Sir John having redeemed his promise as to Protection now went resolutely to work on the great project he had so much at heart, and in 1880, with his energetic Minister of Railways, Sir Charles Tupper, and the Hon. J. H. Pope, he visited England, and succeeded in forming a syndicate of capitalists to undertake the work. The contract allowed ten years for its completion, but so vigorously was it pushed that in 1885 Sir John had the pleasure of going with Lady Macdonald across the continent to the Pacific coast on the great Canadian highway, thus realizing the completion of his great ambition.

The tariff question was the great issue of the elections of 1882 and 1887, but after the latter a new element was imported into it by an agitation commenced by Mr. Erastus Wiman, of New York, for commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity, between Canada and the United States. In company with a member of Congress, who was also enthusiastic for the scheme, Mr. Wiman visited Canada and held meetings throughout the country. The project was endorsed by a number of the leading members of the Opposition, and a propaganda was started, aided by a powerful combination in the press, which was making such headway that it was felt there was danger of the country being carried if vigorous measures were not taken to counteract it.

Sir John believed that the success of this project would inevitably lead to the absorption of Canada in the American union; and though more than three quarters of a century had passed over his head, and his life had been one of continuous and arduous labor, he felt that the supreme effort of his career had now to be made. Early in 1891 he obtained a dissolution, issued a stirring address to the people of Canada,—one phrase of which, "A British subject I was born; a British subject I will die," became the rallying cry of the campaign—and went into the fight with a vigour which surprised everybody, and which could not have been exceeded in his younger days. Two and sometimes three meetings per day were addressed, with additional talks from the rear platform of cars to excited crowds at railroad stations. Even on Sundays, when friends urged him to take a much needed rest, he kept two secretaries busy all day by dictating letters to them. When the voting came on 5th March, he scored a triumph which everybody admitted was due to his personal efforts and popularity; but it was a triumph purchased with his life.

Although completely exhausted by the labours of the campaign, he went right on with the preparations to meet Parliament, which he did on 29th April, and for three weeks kept up the strain as Leader of the House. But exhausted nature could stand it no longer, and after one or two premonitory symptoms, in the last week in May the country was thrown into consternation by the news that he had been stricken with paralysis from which there was little hope that he would recover. Then followed ten days of anxiety, shared not by the people of Canada alone, but throughout the whole British Empire, from all quarters of which came sympathetic enquiries—daily joined in by Her Majesty the Queen through the Governor-General. On the 4th of June physicians in attendance reported slightly more favorable symptoms, but notwithstanding this he continued to sink, and near midnight on the 6th of June, without having regained consciousness he passed peacefully away. Messages of condolence poured in from Canada, from India, and from the leading statesmen of the Empire, and from the Queen, who showed her appreciation by causing a wreath of white roses to be placed on his coffin with the inscription: "From Her Majesty Queen Victoria, in memory of her faithful and devoted servant." The impressive scenes of the national funeral,

both at Ottawa and Kingston, were such as will never be forgotten by those who witnessed them. Not alone was it an immense concourse poured in from all parts of Canada to pay their last token of respect to the dead Chieftain, but it was a touching tribute to the personal character of Sir John and the never varying kindness and consideration with which he had treated all with whom he came in contact; and which won him such a place in the affections of the people; that thousands in all stations in life and from all parts of Canada, who saw him laid to rest in Cataraqui Cemetery, felt that they were taking leave not merely of a great statesman but of a warm personal friend whose memory they would long cherish.

The newspapers of the United States joined with those of Canada and Great Britain in tributes to the dead statesman, in which former opponents freely recognized the great work he had done—the Chicago *Herald* epitomising the general voice of the press when it said: "With Sir John Macdonald's death passes away one of the most heroic figures of the time. He was a born leader of men, a shaper of policies, and a maker of history! Rarely, if ever, has the career of a single statesman been to a nation what the career of Sir John Macdonald was to Canada. He entered public life with the provinces numerically weak, with undeveloped resources and torn by internal dissensions, and he did not lay down his charge till he had seen dissensions largely healed; British power on the American continent consolidated from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes to the Arctic Ocean; the great natural resources of this vast region rapidly developing; a deep system of waterways penetrating from the Atlantic to the heart of the continent almost completed for large vessels; Canada standing high among the nations of the world for its merchant marine; and a magnificent highway across the continent, the building of which challenged the admiration of the world, and which is destined more and more to become the great line of communication between Europe and the Orient. That others from time to time took their parts and are entitled to share in the credit for what has been accomplished may be freely conceded, but history will record that to the energy, genius and guidance of Sir John Macdonald is Canada pre-eminently indebted for the position she occupies to-day.

After the funeral Her Majesty sent an autograph letter of sympathy to Lady Macdonald, announcing to her that she desired to confer some honour to mark her appreciation of Sir John's services to the Empire, which she did by elevating his widow to the Peerage with the title of Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe. A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey, attended by the most eminent British statesmen, and subsequently a bust of Sir John was placed in St. Paul's Cathedral, amongst those of the great men of the Empire, and unveiled by Lord Rosebery with fitting ceremonies. Besides the monument erected by the Dominion on the Parliament grounds at Ottawa, Hamilton, Toronto, Montreal and Kingston also erected monuments to his memory, and in Toronto the annual decoration of the monument, with addresses commemorative of the work he accomplished, has been started, and constitutes an example which is being followed in other cities.

CHAPTER XXV.

HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

Alexander Mackenzie the First Great Liberal Premier of Canada — Of Typical Scotch Parentage—A Toiler from His Earliest Days—Apprenticed as a Stone-Cutter—In the Land of Burns—Joins the Baptist Communion—Decides to Emigrate to Canada—Arrives at Quebec on the "Monarch"—Decides to Locate at Kingston—At Work as a Builder—Cheated out of His Summer's Wages—A Winter in the Back Woods—A Contractor and Foreman on Public Works—Marries Helen Neil—Makes His Home in Sarnia—Death of His Wife—Takes an Interest in Politics—Editor of the "Lambton Shield"—Marries Jane Sym—Elected to Parliament—An Able Debater—Prophesies Evil to Liberals from the Formation of the Coalition Government—Takes Part in the Confederation Debates—His Prophesies Fulfilled—Advocates Vigorous Policy in the North West Rebellion of 1870—Provincial Treasurer of Upper Canada—The Campaign of '72—The "Pacific Scandal"—Mr. Mackenzie Called on to Form an Administration—His Campaign—His Career as Premier—Visits Scotland—Sir Charles Tupper's National Policy—The Election of '78—In Opposition—Feels Deeply the Death of George Brown—In Poor Health—Once More Visits the Old World—Mr. Laurier Becomes Leader of the Liberal Party—Death of Alexander Mackenzie.

The career of Alexander Mackenzie, the first great Liberal Premier of Canada, admirably illustrates how the humblest citizen of this country may rise to the most exalted position in the gift of the nation.

Like many others of the leading men of Canada, such as Sir John A. Macdonald, George Brown and Lord Strathcona, he was of Scotch parentage. He was the son of Alexander Mackenzie and Mary Stewart Fleming, and was born at Logierait on Monday, January 28, 1822. His father, a carpenter and ship-joiner by trade, was, during the greater part of his life, in poor circumstances, and, to provide for his numerous family, was forced to move from place to place in his native land in search of work. After the birth of his son Alexander, and before his death in 1836, he had been a resident of Perth, of Pitlochary and Dunkeld. He was a typical Scotch father, the father immortalized in Burns' *Cottar's Saturday Night*, and it was from him that his son inherited much of his austerity of character and high sense of right. His mother was of superior family; her father had been destined for

the army, but seems to have had no liking for the calling and settled down in a remote part of Scotland, where he acted as schoolmaster and session clerk. No doubt the future Premier of Canada inherited from his grandfather on his mother's side that intellectual power that early made him one of the ablest public men in Canada, and that literary grace which makes the descriptive passages in his letters such interesting reading.

The early life of Alexander Mackenzie was like that of hundreds of other Scotch lads who have become distinguished in business, in politics and in literature. As soon as he was able he had to assist in earning the daily bread for the family, and when but ten years old we find him on the hillside employed as a herd-laddie. This work, of course, he did only in the summer season and in the winter months he attended school. When but thirteen years old he left school altogether. His early life was one of labor, and at sixteen he worked in the fields at the plow.

On account of the circumstances of his family and his environment, however ambitious he may have been, he could not hope to enter any of the learned professions. A mere day-laborer he would not be, and so he apprenticed himself to John Ireland, of Dunkeld, as a stone-cutter. Thus the man who was to be one of the builders of the Dominion began his life in earnest as a hewer of stone for the bridges and dwellings of his native land. His brothers were likewise to be workers; Robert and Hope became carpenters and cabinet-makers, John a tin and coppersmith and Adam a druggist. Alexander made rapid progress at his trade, and in 1841, before he had reached his twentieth birthday we find him at Irvine employed as a journeyman stone-cutter.

He was now in the region that Burns had immortalized, and the inspiration of his surroundings and a somewhat close study of many of the poet's immortal verses did much to shape his character. Burns' love of nature, Burns' sympathy with the poor, Burns' passion for Liberty took possession of him. It was about this time, too, that he began to take an interest in the history of his country, and in the great movements that were

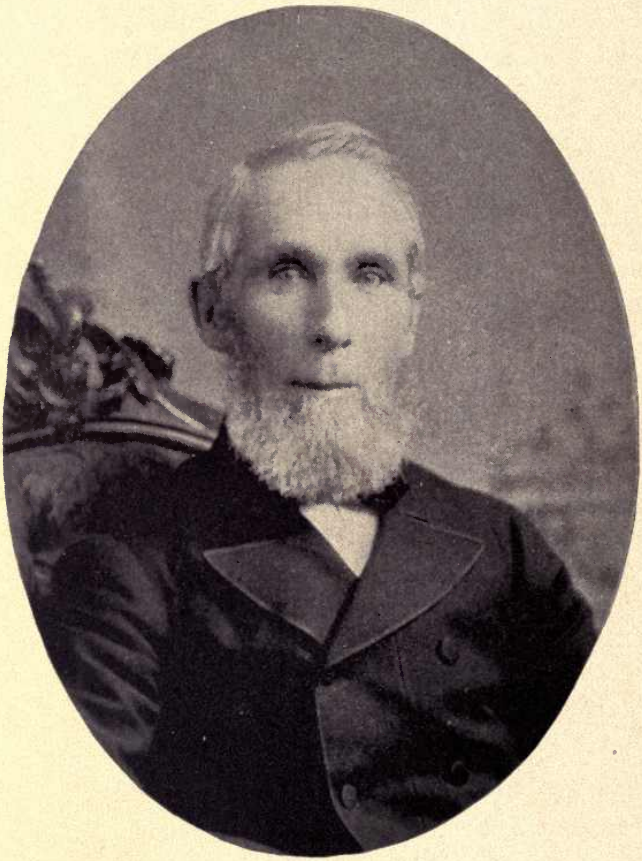
stirring the nation. He was in sympathy with the Chartists, and took part in some of their debates, but was never an extremist, and disapproved of many of the tactics of the leaders in the movement.

From boyhood Alexander Mackenzie was, in religious matters, broad-minded and tolerant. He was a Presbyterian by birth, but while at Irvine was in daily contact with a number of earnest Baptists and under their influence joined the Baptist Church. No doubt, the cold austerity of the Presbyterian Church of his time made him turn for spiritual communion to this newer and more liberal-minded body, but he ever had an affection for the Church of his boyhood days, and towards the end of his life this affection seems to have increased.

The young stone-mason spent only a short year at Irvine, but in that year the whole course of his future life was shaped: his mind was aroused by his study of Burns in the land of Burns; he began to take an interest in the great social and political questions of his time; and here he got his religious bent. Here, too, he fell in with a family by the name of Neil. The father and eldest son were stone-cutters, and he formed a strong friendship with them, but a still stronger friendship with Helen Neil, a Scotch lass but seventeen years old.

The Neils were dissatisfied with their lot in the Old World. Work could not always be obtained and when obtained the laborer's wage was barely sufficient to support life. At that time Canada was attracting a good deal of attention in Scotland, and the Neils thought they might better their condition by going to the New World. As soon as they had definitely concluded to pursue this course Alexander Mackenzie determined to accompany them, attracted, no doubt, by the opportunities the New World would present to his ambitious spirit, but also drawn across the Ocean by the magnet, Helen Neil. The party took passage on the ship "Monarch," sailing from Greenock, and after a voyage of a month's duration arrived safely in the St. Lawrence.

Alexander Mackenzie had been a reader and knew something of the history of the country he was about to make his home, and when the "Monarch" touched at Quebec he visited the points of interests in that historic old city; saw where the great battle of the Plains of Abraham had been



THE HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

fought, where Wolfe fell, and, from the rugged height, drank in the beauty of the majestic river and the grandeur of the mighty hills along its banks. The few hours he remained at Quebec made him a Canadian, and he ever after had an affectionate regard for the country where he was making his permanent home. On May 6 he reached Montreal. He was offered work in that city, but the wages were not as high as he expected, and, as he learned that building operations were being carried on on an extensive scale in what was then the western part of Canada, he decided to proceed to the region of the Great Lakes. He seems now to have been the leading spirit in the Neil party, and it was he who made arrangements with the captain of a batteau to take the family to Kingston.

When he reached Kingston he found that work was not as well remunerated as he had anticipated, and that living was much more expensive than in the eastern part of Canada; however, he had to make the best of the situation and looked about for employment. He found that the tools he had brought with him were too soft to work the hard stone used in Kingston and he was not rich enough to buy a new set. However, he could not remain idle and engaged himself as a builder, and a proficient one he made. He worked industriously through his first summer in Canada, but had the misfortune to be swindled out of almost his entire pay. Towards the end of the summer he received a promissory note for his wages from the contractor for whom he worked, and had the pleasure of keeping that note to the end of his life.

He was disheartened by his first experience, but determined to make an effort in a new line. Like many another young Scotchman, seeking wealth in America, he believed that if he owned a little farm he might be able in time to become a rich landed proprietor. Mr. Mowat, the father of Sir Oliver Mowat, took an interest in the young stone-mason, who had been cheated out of his hard-earned wages, and hearing of his desire for a farm offered him one on liberal terms about twenty-two miles from Kingston. It was in a thick woods; indeed in the heart of the forest primeval. On it was a log

house sixteen by eighteen feet, and only about two acres of the surrounding land were cleared. To this rough, backwoods home Alexander Mackenzie and the Neil family moved early in the autumn of 1842.

Never was a party less fitted to succeed under the hard conditions that forest farming in Canada presented. Mr. Steed, Neil's son-in-law, was a ship-carpenter, with no experience in farming; Hugh Neil had had from early life his mind fixed on the ministry, and knew even less of farming than Steed; Alexander Mackenzie's experience had been with the sheep on the Scotch hillsides and following the plow in the field for a few brief months. The women of the party had never even seen a cow milked. However, they spent a pleasant winter, and managed to cut from six to eight acres of timber. Their evenings were spent by the roaring open fire-place, and while the cold winter winds whistled through the cracks in the roof and in the sides of their rude log-cabin, and the howling of the hungry wolves occasionally reached their ears, they called up reminiscences of the Old World, planned for the future, read Shakespeare, Byron and Burns, discussed a little philosophy, and, following their natural bent, much theology. But this one winter on a Canadian farm seems to have been sufficient for Mackenzie.

In the following spring we find him back in Kingston seeking employment as a stone-cutter. Work was at that time in progress at Fort Henry, situated on a point of land jutting out into Lake Ontario immediately fronting Kingston. Contracts were being let, and young Mackenzie obtained one for building a bomb-proof arch at the fort. He had a busy summer working at his trade on this and other public works about the harbor. To this day the inhabitants of Kingston delight to point out to tourists stone work done by the man who was in time to become a great builder of Canada. In this same year his brother, Hope, who was likewise to achieve political distinction in the country, crossed the ocean and journeyed to Kingston, where he was successful in obtaining work as a carpenter, and labored at his trade for three years in the city.

Alexander Mackenzie early made his influence felt with those with whom he came in contact, and, indeed, several of the leading men of Kingston looked upon him as a youth of more than ordinary ability and promise.

From the first he took an active interest in the great questions that were, at that time, agitating the public. The secularization of the Clergy Reserves was a living question. He took a strong stand against the Clergy Reserves, and was as outspoken on this matter as he had been on the Chartist movement in Scotland.

In the spring of 1844, as there was a lull in building operations in Kingston, Alexander Mackenzie looked elsewhere for employment. At this time the great public works necessary to the development of the interior of the country were in process of construction. The Lachine, Beauharnois and the Welland Canals needed skilled labor, and he had little difficulty in finding employment on the Beauharnois Canal, and, on account of his efficiency as a workman and his strength of character, was placed in charge of a gang of men.

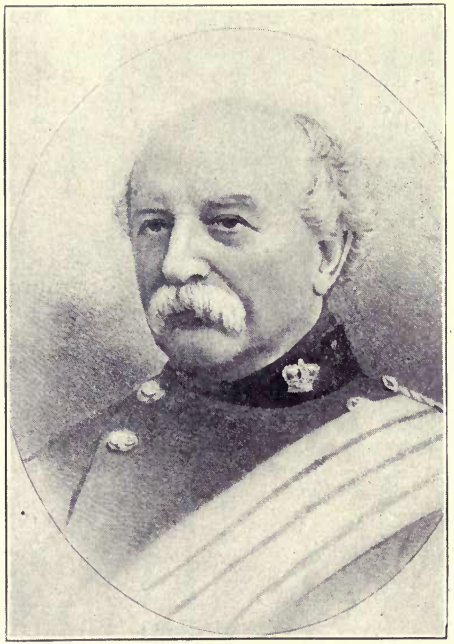
While working here he narrowly escaped death. A stone of more than a ton weight which was being lowered into place pinned him beneath it and badly crushed his leg and foot; till the end of his life the injured limb never recovered its old strength. By this accident he was laid aside for several months, but on recovering proceeded west to the Welland Canal, where he was employed as a foreman on work being done there. The following winter he returned to Kingston and superintended workmen who were getting out stone for the Welland Canal in the quarries on Long Island, opposite the city. He was at this time a very ardent lover, and, in his anxiety to see his fiancée, frequently risked walking across the dangerous channel between Long Island and the mainland. On several occasions the ice broke under him and he narrowly escaped drowning. He had his reward, however, for in the spring of 1845, when he had just passed his twenty-third birthday, he was married to Helen Neil.

There seems to have been a boom in government work about Kingston in 1846, and Alexander Mackenzie found employment as a foreman on the fortifications of Fort Henry and on the celebrated Martello towers that were being erected on points of vantage about the harbour. He was not, however, to remain long in Kingston. His services were in demand and he found employment on the canal basin that was being constructed in Montreal. It

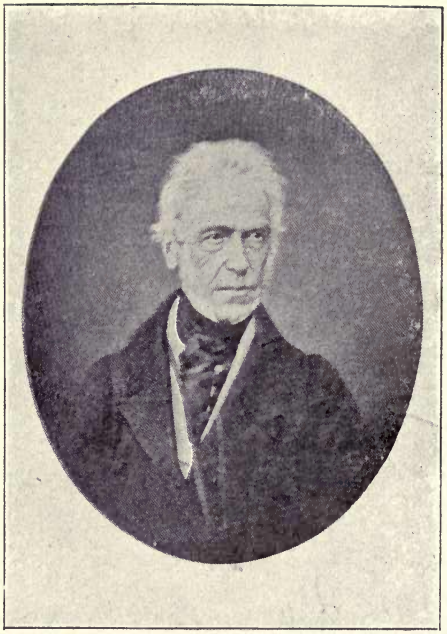
is worthy of note that within four years after his arrival in this country he had been employed on the greatest of Canadian fortifications outside of Quebec, and on the three greatest public works attempted in the country up to that time—the Lachine, Beauharnois and Welland Canals.

While he was at work in Montreal his brother Hope seems to have become dissatisfied with Kingston. He saw but little chance of winning either fame or fortune in the sleepy old Limestone City. He turned his eyes westward and selected Sarnia as a suitable place for his permanent abode. When Alexander had concluded the task on which he was engaged at the Montreal canal basin, he and his wife, now an invalid, moved west to Sarnia, and with this town his life was associated until its end. As soon as the brothers had found a place in Canada that they determined to make their permanent home they thought of the other members of the family in Scotland and Hope journeyed to the Old World to induce them to come to this country and was successful in his mission.

Alexander Mackenzie was soon to suffer the first great grief of his life. His wife while in Kingston had taken a fever from which she never completely recovered, and in 1852 she died. His life was greatly saddened by this calamity, and for a time he felt as though all the brightness had gone out of existence. Fortunately at this period of his career his mind was much occupied with public questions. From the time he landed in Canada he had taken an interest in the affairs of his adopted country. In Kingston he had been most outspoken on several of the questions stirring the political parties and had made enemies and friends. He was a pronounced Reformer, almost a Radical, and when he settled in Sarnia he entered energetically into the political life of the community. His ability as a speaker made him at once a leader in the Reform party of Kent and Lambton, and he was appointed secretary of the Reform Committee for these two counties. He was in this way brought before the notice of George Brown and the great leader of the Liberal party in Ontario recognized the strength of the young stone-mason. A close intimacy was formed between the two which endured without a break until Brown was slain by the assassin, Bennett. They had, indeed, much in common; both were typical Scotchmen, uncompromising in their attitude



GEN. SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS
BART. (OF KARS)
Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 1865-67



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS
G.C.B.
Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, 1824-29

towards reform, the soul of honor and integrity, and despising political tricksters and corruptionists. To these two men, more than to any others, were due the ideals of the Liberal party which in these latter days have been so sadly departed from.

Alexander Mackenzie was a great help to George Brown in his election of 1851, both in his capacity as secretary of the Lambton Reform Committee and in his power as a speaker and a writer. At this time the supporters of George Brown established the *Lambton Shield.* In 1852, Mr. Mackenzie became editor of this paper and proved himself a writer of considerable strength, with a good grip on public questions. He was, however, to have a short editorial career. In his vigorous method of handling public men he gave offence to the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, who entered an action for libel against the *Lambton Shield* with the result that the paper had to cease publication, and Mackenzie was the poorer by £150.

The words in which he bade farewell to his readers admirably illustrate the difficulties under which he did his editorial work.

"The editorial work connected with a weekly journal we have long found a serious encroachment on many of the evening hours of rest after spending the day in the exercise of some laborious manual labor. We leave the profession, as we entered it, with clean hands, and it was not because we had not the opportunity to follow the evil practices that we kept our hands clean in the management of a public journal. We deemed it a sacred duty to seek no man's favor, and to be regardless of any man's frown."

Such as he here describes himself, he was to the end of his life. These farewell words attracted not a little attention ; and that hot-headed enthusiast for reform, William Lyon Mackenzie, who now heard of him for the first time, spoke of him as a man of large mental capacity and indomitable energy.

That Alexander Mackenzie was able to forgive and forget was shown at the Reform convention which met at Strathroy in the summer of 1860. On that occasion Malcolm Cameron, through the support of Mr. Mackenzie, was

chosen to bear the banner of the Liberal party for Lambton and Kent, and Mr. Mackenzie's brilliant work had not a little to do with winning him the seat. These two distinguished men were ever after to be friends.

Alexander Mackenzie's powers were rapidly developing. He had proved, in his editorial capacity on the *Lambton Shield,* that he was able to write with vigor and intelligence. He was even more powerful as a speaker, and on one occasion in 1853 met Dr. Egerton Ryerson on the platform in a discussion on the reverend gentleman's public school policy, and, although Ryerson was recognized as one of the ablest political speakers of his time, the stone-mason had the better of the argument.

In 1853 Alexander Mackenzie married Jane, eldest daughter of Mr. Robert Sym. Although now barely past thirty he was recognized as one of the leading citizens of Sarnia and took an active interest in the life of the town. His brother, Hope, seems to have made his mark, and in 1860 was chosen to represent Lambton on the retirement of Hon. Malcolm Cameron. In 1861 Hope was renominated for Lambton but declined the offer, and Alexander was elected by a substantial majority. His address to the electors is of interest; it shows the principles that guided his early political career—principles from which he never departed. He strenuously advocated reform of the representation. He denounced the extravagance of the government and advocated economy and lower taxation. He deplored the fact that the debt of the country was increasing and that the expenditure was going up by leaps and bounds. He believed that the tariff should be lowered; he denounced the erection of such works as bridges, piers, etc., for political support, and the giving of contracts to members of parliament. His constituency was a widely scattered one but he had the physical strength that enabled him to make himself known in every part of it, even though he had to hold three meetings a day to reach all the electors.

When the parliament met at Quebec the question of representation by population came up, and Alexander Mackenzie made his first speech before the country on this great issue. He, however, was not bound to representation by population, but informed the government that he was prepared to consider any other remedy they might suggest to meet the situation. The opposition

was a powerful one, and the Cartier-Macdonald government was tottering to its fall. Day by day it grew weaker until at length it met defeat on the Militia Bill. There was nothing for it but to resign.

Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald was called upon to form an administration and met with the support of the Liberals in both Upper and Lower Canada. It was during his administration that Alexander Mackenzie in a speech expressed a desire to see a united Canada from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. He was not yet far-sighted enough to see that there could be a united Canada from the Atlantic to the far Pacific. In 1860 Mr. R. W. Scott introduced a Bill for the establishment of Separate Schools. Mr. Mackenzie opposed this Bill, as he believed that they would be an injury to the Public School system of the Province. There was no bigotry in his opposition. He had no desire, whatever, to make the question a religious one, but, as the schools of Upper Canada were non-denominational, he deemed Separate Schools unnecessary.

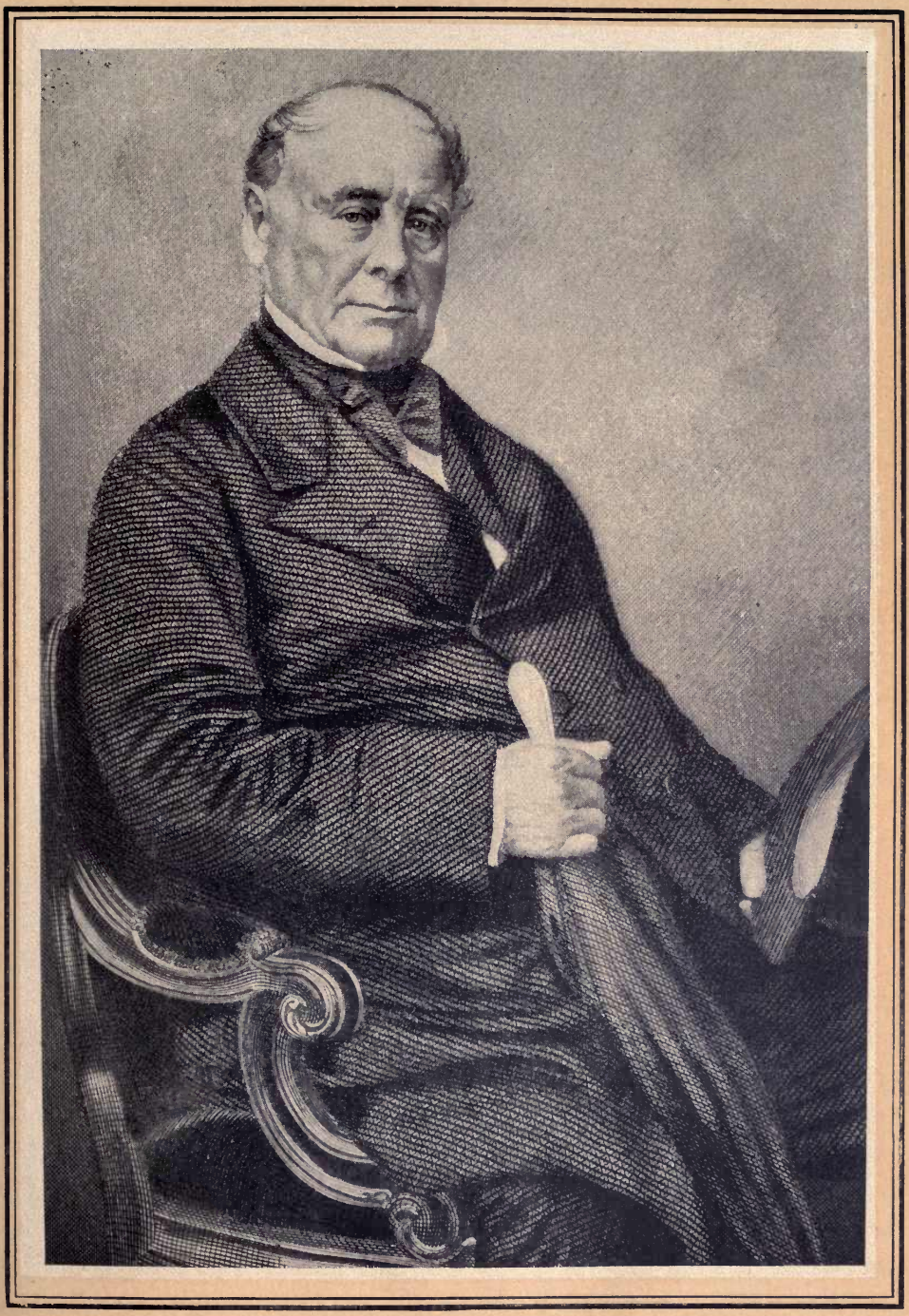
At the next general election Mr. Mackenzie once more stood for Lambton. His opponents saw how hopeless their cause was and withdrew all opposition and he was elected by acclamation. On his return to parliament he once more entered with energy into the debates of the House and was recognized as one of the strongest of Canada's public men. He was, indeed, much clearer-visioned than such reformers as Mr. Brown and Mr. Mowat, and when the celebrated Coalition Government was formed he strongly opposed the Liberals joining forces with the Tories led by Sir John A. Macdonald. He warned Mr. Brown and his friends that they would be used by the astute leader of the Tory party to advance his own interests and then they would be cast aside as lightly as a soiled glove. He prophesied that the formation of the Coalition government would do permanent injury to the interests of his party. And events have shown how well he forecast the future. At the same time he expressed himself as anxious to see the difficulties before the country settled on a permanent basis, and promised his support to any wise and just legislation that the new government might advance.

One of the most interesting periods of Canadian parliamentary history was that of the Confederation debates, which began in 1864. Mr. Mackenzie

had given much time and thought to the question, and had studied with care the federal system of the United States. Although deploring the coalition he could not remain silent at such a time. He was a warm advocate of federal union. The Maritime Provinces linked to the Upper Provinces by a girdle of railway would tend to make a strong and united country. He saw, too, the possibilities of the great West and spoke in glowing words, that thrilled his hearers, of the future of that vast country. In the following year he again took part in the debates and was listened to with pleasure by men accustomed to the finished oratory of such speakers as George Brown. When Brown vacated his seat in the government in 1865, the Liberals, looking upon Mr. Mackenzie as the strongest man in their party, offered it to him but before giving his answer he consulted with Mr. Brown and decided to decline the portfolio. It would be hard, indeed, to imagine Mr. Alexander Mackenzie in the same cabinet with Sir John A. Macdonald. At this time there was a tendency to introduce into Canada the protection system, but Mr. Mackenzie was a disciple of Cobden and Bright, and strenuously opposed Mr. Galt's financial policy, having no faith that protection would establish in the country industries that would be a permanent benefit.

In 1867 there was to be a remarkable fulfillment of the prophesies he made when he warned Mr. Brown against the coalition of '64. Mr Howland and Mr. MacDougall accepted positions in the new government led by Sir John A. Macdonald. By so doing they split the Liberal party in twain and greatly strengthened the hands of the Tories. He spoke with such vigor at this time and with such knowledge of the questions before the country, that it began to be generally recognized that the stone-mason of Sarnia was the one man capable of leading the Liberal party, now left practically leaderless by the retirement of Mr. Brown from active political life.

The election of 1867 was naturally an exciting one. Mr. Mackenzie was in opposition to the government, and every effort was put forth to defeat him, but his ability and integrity made him the idol of the Liberals of



THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON

Lambton, and, despite the presence of Mr. MacDougall in his constituency, or possibly on account of it, he was returned by a majority of nearly seven hundred.

He was now practically the leader of the Liberal forces in parliament and expressed himself on every important question that came up. Under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Howe Nova Scotia had become an opponent of Confederation, and in the speeches on this matter Mr. Mackenzie's were the most likely to win the Province by the sea to the federal union. He likewise strongly favored the acquisition of the North West Territories as a field for the energies of the young men of Eastern Canada, who were flocking to the United States. He was opposed to militarism and vigorously objected to the expenditure of money on inland fortifications. Our relations with the United States were such and should continue to be such that no forts or guns would be needed save those required to give our sons a military training to fit them for war if the Empire should ever require their services.

During the first session after Confederation was consummated, the matter of Sabbath observance came up in the House. Alexander Mackenzie, as was to be expected from his temperament and training, took a decided stand in favor of Sabbath observance and objected to the canals being operated on the Holy Day.

His position as leader of the opposition did much to make him a finished speaker, and few better addresses have ever been delivered in the House of Commons than his words in seconding the motion of adjournment when Mr. Thomas D'Arcy McGee was assassinated:

"I find it," he said, "almost impossible to proceed. But last night we were all charmed with the eloquence of our departed friend who is now numbered with the honored dead, and none of us dreamed when we separated last that we should so very soon be called in this way to record our affection for him. It was my own lot for many years to work in political harmony with him, and it was my lot sometimes to oppose him. But through all the vicissitudes of political warfare we ever found him possess that generous disposition characteristic of the man and his country, and it will be long, as the leader of the government has said, before we can see his like amongst us.

I think there can be no doubt he has fallen a victim to the noble and patriotic course which he has pursued in this country with regard to the relations between his native land and the Empire, and I can only hope that the efforts to be made by the government will lead to the discovery that to an alien hand is due the sorrow that now clouds not only this House, but the whole community."

When the rebellion broke out in the North West in 1870 Mr. Mackenzie was one of the strongest advocates of a vigorous policy. Where bloodshed was likely to occur, and where the flames of insurrection might spread, rapid and strong action, he believed, to be the duty of the government. He was prepared to support Sir John Macdonald in putting down the rebellion and advised the sending of an adequately strong force to grapple with the situation, but when the rebellion was suppressed it was he who moved to grant a full amnesty to all prisoners except Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue. He was essentially a man of peace but realized that sometimes a vigorous war policy is the best way of securing peace.

While he would have peace within the country he was at the same time desirous of having Canada live in the most friendly relationship with the United States. He recognized that the legacy of hatred from the past existing between the two countries tended to keep them apart, and for his own country he hoped to see the spirit of retaliation die out; and had politicians on both sides of the line been animated by his spirit a large measure of reciprocal trade might now be cementing the two peoples of one blood, one feeling, into a common brotherhood.

Mr. Mackenzie stood for Middlesex for the local Legislature and was elected by a large majority. The government had lost the confidence of the country and Mr. Blake was asked to form a government. He did so and selected Mr. Mackenzie as his Provincial Treasurer. It was neccessary that he should go to his constituents for re-election, but all opposition was withdrawn and he returned to the Assembly. He proved himself a most able financier. In his budget speech he pointed out the need of building the future Province on a sound basis of education. He, likewise, advanced the need of a wise immigration policy. He was not, however, to have a long

experience in the Local House. He and Mr. Blake found, that before they could hold seats in the Dominion parliament, they would have to resign from the Local Legislature, and so in 1872, handing over the reins of government to the wise hands of Oliver Mowat, who was to remain in power for so many years, they returned to the arena of the Dominion.

The fight of 1872 was a notable one; the Conservative party was open to attack from many points of view. The North West question had been handled badly and the dissatisfaction that culminated in insurrection, was, in the opinion of Mr. Mackenzie, due to their crass negligence. He waged a vigorous campaign on this and other important questions, and when Sir John A. Macdonald was returned to power it was with a greatly reduced majority. The Liberals were now hopeful. They had a man of integrity and strength to lead their forces and they expected that at the next general election they would win. Their turn was to come much sooner than they had expected. The provinces of the east and west had been drawn into Confederation largely by the promise of a vast railway that would make the country a physical unit from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and they now looked to the government for the fulfillment of the promise made when Confederation was consummated. From the beginning Mr. Mackenzie was antagonistic to hurrying the work of construction. He believed that the great railway across the plains and over the Rockies should be built slowly, and as the resources of the country demanded it. On this question time has proved that he was far from being a great statesman. He had serious limitations, and in nothing are these better shown than in his attitude towards the Canadian Pacific Railway. For the rapid building up of a great nation the statesman at its head needs something of the business spirit of a Cecil Rhodes, and this spirit animated the breast of Sir John A Macdonald; and therein lies the great difference between him and Alexander Mackenzie.

Out of the great railway question was to come victory for the Liberal party. In several of the sketches in this book this matter has been dealt with, and it is unnecessary to say much with regard to it here. Scarcely had Sir John A. Macdonald been returned to power when around him gathered the storm clouds. It was discovered that Sir Hugh Allan, who was

interested in a company formed to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway had contributed largely to the Conservative election funds. The charges of Mr. Huntington brought the matter before the country. The friends of Sir John Macdonald have endeavored to show that there was no political corruption in his dealings with Sir Hugh Allan; his enemies, on the other hand, have been decided in their efforts to make him out the blackest of the black. Mr. Mackenzie, who had a very high sense of political morality, believed him guilty, and led the forces battling against him. The whole country was aroused. The evidence was such that there was nothing left for Macdonald to do but to resign. Mr. Mackenzie, as leader of the opposition, was thereupon requested to form a new administration, and he did so, selecting the following cabinet:

Premier and Minister of Public Works	Hon. Alexander Mackenzie
Minister of Justice	Hon. A. A. Dorion
Minister of Finance	Hon. R. J. Cartwright
Minister of Militia and Defence	Hon. William Ross
Minister of Customs	Hon. Isaac Burpee
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. L. Letellier de St. Just
Postmaster-General	Hon. D. A. Macdonald
Minister of Marine and Fisheries	Hon. A. J. Smith
Minister of Inland Revenue	Hon. Telesphore Fournier
President of the Council	Hon. L. S. Huntington
Receiver-General	Hon. Thomas Coffin
Secretary of State	Hon. David Christie
Without office	Hon. Edward Blake
	Hon. R. W. Scott

In the selection of this Cabinet he aimed at dealing fairly with every Province, and with all religious denominations.

Shortly after he was elected Premier Mr. George Brown wrote with regard to him, saying "Mr. Mackenzie's hands had never been defiled, and that the first Reform Premier of this Dominion was the noblest workingman in the land." While writing these words he must have felt keenly his own position in the country. He had been ambitious to be Premier, but through his strong prejudices and his past record he was an impossibility for such an office.

It was now necessary that the Liberal party should go before the country, and Parliament was dissolved on Jan. 2, 1874. The "Pacific

Scandal" was still uppermost in the minds of the public and a great victory was won by Alexander Mackenzie. It seemed then that the Liberal party, winning on the cry of political morality, and with a man of great integrity and force at their head, might have a long lease of power.

Alexander Mackenzie at once began to put in practice the reforms he had promised before his election. One of the first was vote by ballot, and in this he was vigorously opposed by Sir John A. Macdonald. He, likewise, advised delay in the construction of the C. P. R., deeming it wise in the meantime to utilize the great waterways of the west and to gradually build the railway as the country needed it. This very naturally aroused great indignation in British Columbia, where the people had expected that the road would be commenced in two years from the date of their union with the Dominion and completed in ten. Through the attitude of the Liberal Premier and his followers they saw the great railway that they hoped would build up their Province vanishing into the dim future. So warm was the feeling in the Pacific Province that the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, journeyed across the continent to meet the people of British Columbia, and to try to allay the bitter feeling. His efforts met with a measure of success.

During the time that Alexander Mackenzie was Premier of Canada a number of very important measures passed both houses. A law instituting voting by ballot has already been noted, and along with this, simultaneous elections, abolition of property qualifications for members of the Commons, and enactments against "corrupt practices" at elections were established.

Another measure of great importance to the country was the establishment of the Royal Military College at Kingston. Mr. Mackenzie had had some little military experience and saw the need of trained officers. He was opposed to militarism and had none of the jingo spirit which often accompanies it, and while expending but little money on forts and guns, he believed that there should be a nucleus of well-instructed officers about whom the militia could assemble in time of need. That his policy was a good one these latter years have proved. Nothing in Canada has done more to bind the great Dominion to the Motherland than the Royal Military College established by Alexander Mackenzie. The work done by the officers trained

there in every part of the Empire, and particularly in South Africa, has proved what a help Canada can be to the Motherland in time of a foreign war.

Efforts were put forth to bring about a reciprocity treaty with the United States but these met with failure. However, the celebrated Halifax Commission did good work, and when finally the Washington Treaty was concluded, the United States paid $5,500,000 to Canada for fishing privileges for twelve years. Before Mr. Mackenzie was elected Premier he had deplored the heavy taxation suffered by the people of the Dominion, but now for the management of the country's affairs it was found necessary to raise the tariff from fifteen to seventeen and a half per cent. Sir Charles Tupper, ever ready to take an advantage of an opponent, accused the Liberals of inconsistency. Mr. Mackenzie met the accusation by stating that there was no protection in the new tariff and that the increase had been made for revenue purposes only.

The temperance question was, in the seventies, quite as important an issue as it is in the present year (1902). The temperance forces were advocating a prohibitory law. The Premier had been practically a life-long prohibitionist, but was a wise one and uttered warning words which the temperance people might well have taken to heart. Had they done so there would not have been the lukewarmness that at present exists with regard to the referendum. "It was useless," he said, "to give legislation on this or any other question until the public was ready for it." . . . . . "He believed they would run great danger of increasing the opportunities for the illegal sale of intoxicating liquors instead of having it controlled by some sort of licence system as at present. Any backward step in this movement would be a fatal calamity to the temperance cause and to the country in general." He, however, had much to do with giving the country the Canada Temperance (Scott) Act. The country was not prepared for it, and, as he had prophesied, it was a failure.

After the session of 1875 Mr. Mackenzie felt the need of a rest. He had now been in Canada for thirty-three years and during that time had, practically, taken no holiday. His heart, while attached to his adopted country, had lost none of its love for the hills and glens of his native land, and

so he decided to visit Scotland and renew his youth in the haunts of his boyhood days. He was enthusiastically welcomed by his fellow-countrymen, and was received by Her Majesty the Queen, at Windsor. How thoroughly he was attached to Scotland is shown in the address he made when the freedom of Dundee was conferred upon him.

"I shall continue," he said, "to reside for the remaining days of my life in Canada. I cannot, if I would, and would not if I could, throw off all allegiance to my own proud nationality of Scotland. And, sir, it is not necessary that anyone should do so. The children of Israel, when they were taken captive by the great Eastern monarch, were asked by their Babylonian captors to sing them a song of Zion. They replied: 'How can we sing the songs of Zion in a strange land? May my right hand forget its cunning if I forget thee, O, Jerusalem.' We can, as Scotchmen, sing our national songs—songs of freedom or affection, whether placed in Canada or Australia; whether in the Arctic or Antarctic zones, and feel our national anthem to be as dear to us in one place as in another; for the broad banner of British liberty floats alike over every country of the British Empire."

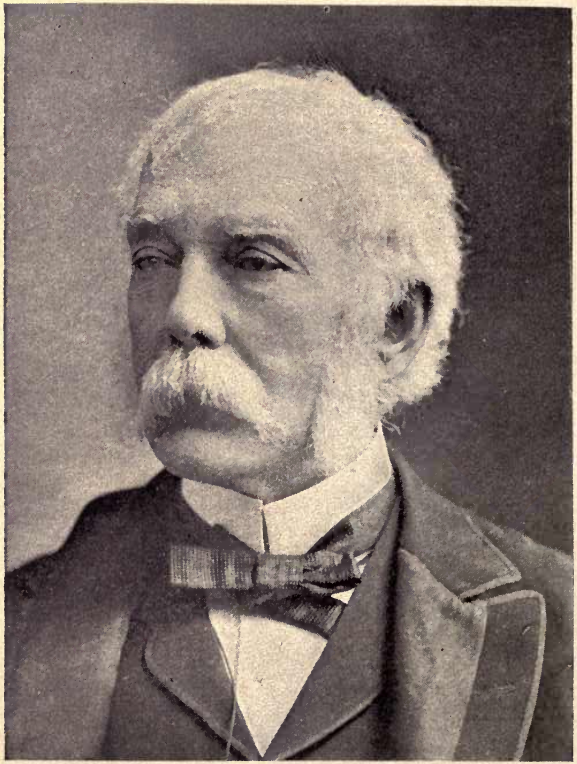
But the welcome he appreciated most was that given him by his native village, Logierait. After his "involuntary triumphant progress through his early haunts in Scotland," to quote the London *Times*, and several months of active work in London on behalf of Canada, he returned to take up his parliamentary duties with renewed energy.

When he returned to Canada he found that his opponents were prepared to make a vigorous fight to bring his government into ill-repute. The country was in a much depressed condition. There was a general depression in trade throughout the world, and Alexander Mackenzie was unfortunate enough to be in office when the wave of hard times reached Canada. Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper, both great opportunists, knew how to make the best use of the circumstances and attributed the depression to the Liberal policy. Free trade was, according to them, the cause of the hard times in Canada, and Sir Charles Tupper, in replying to the budget speech of '76 advanced the National Policy of protection. He accused Mr. Mackenzie ot being a protectionist himself in one part of the country and a

free-trader in another. Mr. Mackenzie, however, stood by his guns and declared that he would inaugurate absolute free trade at once if the circumstances of the country and the position of the manufacturers would admit of it. He was an out and out English free-trader and looked upon protection as an evil. But the Conservatives saw they had a good thing to win votes in the National Policy and hammered away at it, appealing to workmen and to manufacturers, and prophesying that under such a system the sounds of labor would be heard in every part of the land, and that high chimneys would be erected in every city, town and village. They propagated the idea throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion, and rapidly educated the people into believing that protection was the panacea for the existing depression. Sir John Macdonald in the House and before the country impressed its need, and when the time for the election of 1878 came round, he felt confident of being returned by a large majority. The depression continued and the crops failed, and for both the Mackenzie government was held responsible. If Sir John was confident of winning, Alexander Mackenzie was equally confident of being retained in office, and on one occasion innocently remarked: "I find the Tories everywhere confident; why, I cannot understand. My meetings are everywhere successful—could hardly be more so." He was soon to learn that successful and enthusiastic meetings are not always a sure mark of the confidence of the people. His honesty and high sense of political morality caused him to be everywhere received with, at least, marked respect, even by his opponents, but when the day for voting came he was defeated by an overwhelming majority,—146 Conservatives being returned and only 60 Liberals; and the Liberal party was, for nearly twenty years, consigned to the Opposition benches.

Alexander Mackenzie felt his defeat keenly, but nobly determined to remain in Parliament and watch his country's interests. How highly he was esteemed is shown by a letter from Lord Dufferin on the occasion of his defeat. "Neither in England nor in Canada has any public servant of the Crown administered the affairs of the nation with stricter integrity, a purer patriotism, with a more indefatigable industry, or nobler aspiration than

HON. L. S. HUNTINGTON



SIR HENRI G. JOLY DE LOTBINIERE

yourself." When Lord Dufferin said this he admirably summed up Alexander Mackenzie's work as Premier. A great statesman Mackenzie was not, but a spotless one he ever was.

He had made a hard fight for re-election and was worn out by the struggle ; in his own words he was " as thin as a slate." He was in one way glad to be freed from responsibility. His position as Premier had given him an insight into political corruption that disgusted him, and to some extent gave him a distaste for public life. Had it not been that his duty towards his country demanded his presence in parliament he would in all probability have become a private citizen of Canada.

For several years he remained in the leadership of the Liberal party, and was the most shrewd critic in the House of the National Policy. In 1880 he retired from the leadership and Mr. Edward Blake succeeded him.

It was in the year that he retired from the leadership of his party that the death of his friend and colleague, Mr. George Brown, occurred. He took it much to heart, and on the floor of the House, when seconding the motion for adjournment out of respect to the memory of the first great leader of the Liberal party, completely broke down.

Like Mr. Brown he had been offered a title while he was Premier. The offer was repeated in 1881 by the Marquis of Lorne but Mr. Mackenzie very wisely declined these offers, believing that titles had no place in such a democratic country as Canada, and that they could do nothing to draw the colony closer to the motherland.

He continued for some years to be an energetic opponent of bills advanced by Sir John Macdonald's government, particularly criticizing the railway policy and the Gerrymander Bill. But his health was far from being good and on several occasions he visited the Old World to refresh himself by travel and a sojourn in the scenes of his boyhood days. He was everywhere received with respect, and his speeches did much to give a true knowledge of Canada to the inhabitants of Great Britain. But neither travel to the Old World nor to the Canadian West could restore him to his old health. His mind was as clear as of old, but his physical being was rapidly breaking up, and his voice was heard but seldom in the House. Mr. Blake got out of

touch with the policy of many of the Liberals and left the party, going to England to become a prominent figure in the British House of Commons. Mr. Mackenzie's health would not permit him to return to the leadership and Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, who had been for some years one of the most striking figures in Canada, on the retirement of Mr. Blake became the Liberal leader. From that moment new life was instilled into the party.

Mr. Mackenzie continued to be hopeful for his country and remained to the end of his life a staunch free trader. He was not, however, to see the return of his party to power, for in 1892 he passed quietly away, on a beautiful Sunday morning in April, with the words "Oh! take me home."

When the news of his death was flashed through Canada all classes mourned with a genuine mourning. He had ever been a man without spot or blemish, and no one could point the finger at any base act done by him or recall a bitter or unkind word uttered save when some evil had to be denounced.

The House was sitting at the time of his death and it ceased its business until after his funeral. Sir John Thompson and Sir Wilfrid Laurier paid eloquent tributes to his memory.

The London *Times* admirably sums up his character in the following words: "Modest by disposition, he, nevertheless, enjoyed controversy, and was quite at home in the heat of debate either in the House or on the hustings. Better still—the untiring energy, the business-like accuracy, the keen perception and reliable judgment, and above all the inflexible integrity which marked his private life, he carried without abatement of one jot in his public career. His name has been regarded as a symbol of honesty among friends and foes alike."

Alexander Mackenzie was and ever will remain the Sir Galahad of Canadian politics, and while it seems almost impossible for a party to keep in power in this country without resorting to methods, that are, to say the least, shady, the ideals that he lived up to during his entire public career still live under the surface, and must be returned to before Canada's true destiny will be achieved.

CHAPTER XXVI.

* SIR J. J. C. ABBOTT.

The sketch of the career of Sir John Joseph Caldwell Abbott, K.C.M.G., Q.C., D.C.L., which follows, is largely from the pen of Miss Maud Ogilvy, of Montreal, and was published in much more extended form in "Men of To-day,"—a series of biographies edited and issued by Mr. Louis H. Tache of Montreal in 1891.

Sir John Abbott's Parentage—Enters a Mercantile House in Montreal—Studies at McGill College—Graduates a B. C. L.—Called to the Bar of Lower Canada—An Aspirant for Political Honors—A Lecturer and Professor in McGill University—A Member of the Legislature—Solicitor-General—His Attitude on Confederation—His Legal Knowledge of Inestimable Value in the House of Commons—Exercises an Important Influence in the Development of Canadian Railways — Urges upon Sir Hugh Allan the Project of Constructing the C. P. R.—The Pacific Railway Scandal—Sent on Important Missions to England—His Connection with the Canada Central Railway—One of the Most Active Promoters and Workers in the Canadian Pacific Railway Enterprise—A Director of the C. P. R.—Elected Mayor of Montreal—Appointed President of the Corporation of the Royal Victoria Hospital—Appointed a Commissioner in Negotiating with Australia for Closer Trade Relations and Cable Connections—Leader of the Senate—Accepts the Portfolio of President of the Council—Becomes Prime Minister on the Death of Sir John A. Macdonald —Knighted by the Queen—Goes to Europe in Search of Health—His Death, October 3, 1893.

"SIR JOHN ABBOTT'S father, the Rev. Joseph Abbott, was born in Westmoreland, in the North of England, and his early life was spent in the border counties. He took his degree at a Scottish University, and was soon afterwards sent to Canada as a missionary under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Joseph Abbott married Harriet, the daughter of the Rev. Richard Bradford, Rector of the adjoining parish, and built a church and parsonage at St. Andrew's, P. Q. Here, in 1821, his eldest son was born and the birthplace of the late Canadian Premier still stands, almost unaltered, a quaint old-fashioned cottage, with overhanging gables and long, low roof, nestling amidst a group of luxuriantly foliaged elm trees, with the winding silver stream of the beautiful North River visible

* From "Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country," edited by J. Castell Hopkins.

from its windows. . . . At the age of seventeen Mr. J. J. C. Abbott left the paternal roof to make his way in the world, and proceeded to Montreal. Here he entered a mercantile house; but, after a few months, the close air and confinement of city life began to tell upon the country-bred lad and a severe illness was the result. After his recovery he went to Gananoque, where he had obtained a position in the general business establishment of the Macdonalds, and there he remained until he came to Montreal in 1843, to study at McGill College. At this time his family also moved to the metropolis, his father having been appointed Bursar of the University, and thus he was once more in the home circle. At this period, in spite of Mr. Abbott's busy life and arduous studies, he found time to join in social amusements, and made a study of vocal music, in which branch he became very proficient. His singing was a feature in Christ Church Cathedral choir, the principal Anglican place of worship in Montreal, and he continued to direct this admirably organized body of vocalists for six years. He graduated as a B. C. L., and studied law in the office of Messrs. Meredith and Bethune, and, in 1847, was called to the Bar of Lower Canada. His partnership with Mr. Justice Badgley and his marriage both took place within the next two years, his wife being Miss Mary Bethune, daughter of the Very Rev. J. Bethune, D. D., late Dean of Montreal. From earliest youth Mr. Abbott had hoped to make his home in his native County of Argenteuil, but this desire becoming impracticable, it merged into the ambition of representing it in Parliament. Accordingly, in 1857, he stood for the County and was then elected its member in the Canadian Assembly. The nominal majority, however, was against him, and it was not until after an arduous contest before a Committee of the House, lasting three Sessions, that he was enabled to take the seat to which he was justly entitled.

"A short time after Mr. Abbott's election to the Legislature he was appointed to a Lectureship in the Faculty of Law in the University of McGill, and, soon afterwards, Professor of Commercial Law, and, in course of time, Dean of the Faculty of Law. When his heavy professional duties compelled him to resign that position, he was appointed one of the Governors of the University, having in the interval, taken his Doctor's degree in Civil Law in

due course. The work of his profession prevented him from taking a large part in the ordinary business of the Legislature, and then, as ever, he took but a minor interest in the violent disputes and debates on purely party questions. But his steady attention to the regular duties of the House was conspicuous and having taken an active part in the agitation against certain objectionable clauses in the Militia Bill of the day, upon which the Government was defeated in 1862, he accepted the position of Solicitor-General, under the late M. Sicotte as Attorney-General, in the Coalition Government formed in that year by the late Mr. Sandfield Macdonald—receiving at the same time his patent of Queen's Counsel. M. Sicotte was leader for Lower Canada and the late Thomas D'Arcy McGee was one of his colleagues. On the dissolution, in 1863, which followed the defeat of the Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte Government, Mr. Abbott declined to retain the office of Solicitor-General in the new combination made with Mr. Dorion by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, and assumed an independent position in the general election which followed the dissolution. This new coalition became a purely party Government, formed from the Liberal side in politics. As is well known, the result of that election was such that the Government of the day received but a small majority in the House, and the result was the deadlock which was followed by Confederation.

"Mr. Abbott was not an enthusiastic supporter of this great measure, fearing as he did, the disadvantage at which the English-speaking population of Lower Canada would be placed under that system; and thinking that the preponderating influence of the French-speaking inhabitants of Lower Canada would reduce the minority to a state of practical impotence; and also that for the British settlers in the Province no career in public life would remain. . . Mr. Abbott continued to represent Argenteuil up to 1874. During this time he applied himself mainly to the legislative business of the House, taking little part in the party discussion. While Solicitor-General, he entirely remodelled the Lower Canadian Jury system and introduced and carried measures providing for the payment of Government fees by stamps, which is now universally prevalent with many beneficial results. During the same period he introduced the Insolvent Act of 1864, which was not passed at the

time of the dissolution of the House. Upon the organization of the new Government, Mr. Abbott had the distinguished honor of being asked by the Premier for permission to use the Bill which had been introduced while that Premier was in Opposition, and he was especially requested to conduct it through the House, which he did, though introduced in the name of the Government. This measure gave, in its principles, satisfaction to the country. In 1868, Mr. Abbott obtained the appointment of an important Commission to consider its management and the possibility of its improvement, the result of which was an elaborate report based upon returns from most of the constituencies of the Dominion. On this report was based the Insolvent Act of 1869, which retained the principles and the leading features of the Act of 1864, altering some few of its details. It has been admitted that the Act has been the most successful effort yet made towards the establishment of an insolvent system in the Dominion. Subsequent amendments were not found to improve the operation of the act, but the reverse. They exaggerated many of the difficulties, more especially in the matter of official assignees, and finally, in 1879, the law was repealed, and the commercial and financial community are now calling for the re-introduction of an insolvency system.

"For many years Mr. Abbott exercised unusual influence in the conduct of the work of legislation in the House of Commons. His proficiency in all branches of commercial law and in the law of private corporations made his assiduous attendance at the great standing committees on railways, canals and telegraphs, and on banking and commerce, of inestimable value. And, in the latter committee he acted as chairman for a number of years with the high appreciation of its members and of the House of Commons. In the intervals of attendance upon Parliament Mr. Abbott continued his practice as an advocate in Montreal and was engaged in most of the important cases of the day. . . In 1862, Mr. Abbott began his connection with the system of railways which culminated in the Canadian Pacific Railway, by his appointment to the office of President of the Canada Central Railway. Under his auspices a connection was made between the Brockville and Ottawa Railway under the name of the Canada Central Railway, and the line was extended as far westward as Pembroke. It was his connection with this railway which

first drew Mr. Abbott's attention to the great scheme of a railway across the continent. From the beginning he pressed in public speeches and otherwise the idea that the Canada Central was susceptible of infinite extension until it reached the Pacific Ocean, and that it might ultimately be the gateway of the great Pacific system. His interest in trans-continental communication never ceased from that time. In 1871-72, being still interested in some degree in the Canada Central, he urged upon Sir Hugh Allan the project of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway, and he was actively engaged with Sir Hugh as Provisional Director when a company was formed by that gentleman. The object of this was, in the first place, to secure its amalgamation with the corresponding company organized in Toronto by the Hon. (Sir) D. L. Macpherson, and, afterwards in the formation of the company which made the first attempt in England to raise money for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

"Mr. Abbott was one of the delegation of four—composed of Sir Hugh Allan, the Hon. Adams G. Archibald, Major Walker and himself—which visited England in 1873, for the purpose of floating the bonds of the railway under the charter granted by Sir John Macdonald's Government in that year. In June, the delegation succeeded in procuring the signature of the late Baron Strousberg to a preliminary agreement for the construction of the line. That agreement, the negotiations for which were kept private, was immediately cabled to Canada, and the next day Mr. Huntington made a statement in the House which was the inception of what is usually referred to as the Pacific Railway Scandal. The attack thus made upon the Government and upon the enterprise caused Baron Strousberg to abandon immediately the preliminary agreement that had been made, and the delegation returned to Canada unsuccessful in their mission. Subsequent events are well known to every Canadian. After a stormy session, a committee was appointed with power to examine witnesses under oath, but the Law Officers of the Crown having determined that this power was not legally justified, a Commission was instituted to inquire into the allegations of Mr. Huntington. After a long investigation the committee reported, Parliament was called together, and, after a debate of some weeks, the Government of Sir John Macdonald

resigned office in November, 1873. In this affair, Mr. Abbott had some prominence as the confidential legal adviser of Sir Hugh Allan, and in that capacity he became cognizant of some of the transactions which were complained of by Mr. Huntington between Sir Hugh Allan and the Government. He was present on the occasion of the request of the late Sir George Cartier to Sir Hugh Allan for a subscription to the election fund, and assisted in writing the letters which were exchanged between Sir George and Sir Hugh on the occasion. Subsequently, Sir Hugh having left for Newfoundland, Mr. Abbott, as his confidential adviser, was applied to by Sir John Macdonald to request further subscriptions from Sir Hugh to the fund. This he did, and he was the medium of the transmission of that renewed subscription.

Mr. Abbot was re-elected at the subsequent general election of 1874, but was unseated in 1875 on an informality in the voters' list for one of the parishes of his county. At the new election which took place in that year, he did not offer himself, but the gentleman who opposed him in 1874 was again a candidate and succeeded in being returned. Upon a contestation of his election, this gentleman was unseated and personally disqualified for acts done in the election of 1874 against Mr. Abbott. At the general election of 1878, Mr. Abbott again presented himself but was not returned. Dr. Christie, his opponent, had the recorded majority, but was unseated on a contest. In 1879, Mr. Abbott defeated Dr. Christie, but was unseated, and at the election which followed, he was again returned by a large majority, and sat until the end of Parliament. At the next general election he was elected by an increased majority. In 1886, he retired from the House of Commons and declined re-election.

In 1876, while not a member of the House, Mr. Abbott was consulted in connection with legislation, more especially on the subject of the Insolvency Law, relating to which he assisted in framing an Act which was introduced by the present Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, but which was not ultimately passed. Upon the accession of Sir John Macdonald to power in 1878, the question of the propriety of the dismissal by Lieutenant-Governor Letellier de Saint-Just of his Provincial Ministers came under consideration. After an important and instructive debate, a resolution was passed condemning the

THE RT. HON. SIR J. S. D. THOMPSON, K.C.M.G.

THE HON. SIR JOHN J. C. ABBOTT

action of the Lieutenant-Governor. This was followed by a recommendation to the Governor-General that the Lieutenant-Governor be dismissed; but before acting upon this recommendation, it was determined to refer the whole question of the constitutionality of the dismissal of M. Letellier to the Home Government. For this purpose, Sir Hector Langevin and Mr. Abbott were appointed delegates to lay the matter before the Colonial Minister. They proceeded to England and remained there during a period of three months, while the subject was under discussion. . . . While in England, and on this occasion, Sir Hector Langevin and Mr. Abbott conducted several matters of importance for the Canadian Government, among which were measures relating to the admission and transport of cattle from the United States, through Canada, which have been successfully continued to the present day.

Mr. Abbott's connection with the Canada Central Railway, besides tending to direct his thoughts towards the great Pacific transcontinental scheme, led to his ultimately becoming the purchaser of a share in the whole Canada Central enterprise, Mr. Duncan MacIntyre being the principal owner. Under the energetic management of the latter gentleman, the construction of the Canada Central was pushed forward towards North Bay, and, in the spring of 1880, the road being nearly completed, and the scheme of Mr. Mackenzie's Government not appearing likely to be in any degree successful, Mr. MacIntyre and Mr. Abbott discussed the possibility of forming a company to construct the Pacific Railway from North Bay. It was thought feasible that it might be brought on from that point to a junction with a portion of the railway which the Mackenzie Government had begun near the Pacific coast, taking in the link that had also been begun by that Government between Port Arthur and Winnipeg in March, 1880. A suggestion to this effect was conveyed to Sir John Macdonald, which was prepared by Mr. Abbott, and signed by Mr. MacIntyre. The latter gentleman communicated at the same time with Messrs. George Stephen, James J. Hill, of St. Paul, Sir Donald Smith, Mr. Kennedy, of New York, and Mr. R. B. Angus, and finally obtained their concurrence in the project which had been submitted to the Government. An informal intimation was received that the project was

looked upon as possible, but that it should be presented to European capitalists with the view of obtaining the best possible terms for the Government. As is now generally known, Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Pope proceeded to England, and negotiations took place with several parties, but finally the Canadian Syndicate, strengthened by the addition of Sir John Rose of London and Baron Reinach of Paris, came to an understanding with the Government as to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

On the return of Sir John Macdonald to Canada in the autumn the negotiations were pursued. The syndicate chiefly represented by Mr. Stephen, Mr. MacIntyre and Mr. Abbott, with the frequent concurrence of the Canadian and American members, entered upon more detailed negotiations with the Government. A draft, prepared by Mr. Abbott, of the proposed contract was submitted. This formed the basis of subsequent negotiations, and in the main formed the contract provisionally agreed upon, and, after two months' constant discussion, was signed in October, 1880. A special session of Parliament was called in order that the matter should be put through in time to start the work vigorously in the spring. The necessary legislation was completed, the Company incorporated and the contract finally signed on the 17th of February, 1881. Immediately afterwards Mr. Stephen, Mr. MacIntyre, Mr. Angus and Mr. Abbott went to England to make the necessary financial arrangements for the Company. The members of the syndicate were elected the Directors of the Company, and Mr. Abbott was appointed standing Counsel. From that time forth until the completion of the road he took an active part in all its transactions and management, including its financial arrangements and issues, the preparation of its legislation, and the organization of its various combinations and acquisitions of existing railways. In fact, though not a stockholder, being precluded from holding stock by the existing Parliament, he took the same active interest in the enterprise as if he had been a member of the syndicate. During this period, though, he continued to be a member of Parliament, he scrupulously avoided acting in his public capacity in any matter affecting the Pacific Railway, never having voted or spoken on any of its measures. For some time he was excused from voting on his own statement

of his interest in the Company, which he invariably took occasion to make, when a question relating to it came before Parliament. But as he could not state that he was directly, pecuniarily interested in the Company, and therefore found that he might be forced to vote, he took the course of leaving the House whenever a Canadian Pacific measure came before it. Though universally recognized as one of the most active promoters and workers in the Canadian Pacific Railway enterprise, it was never imputed to Mr. Abbott, in the warmest political controversy, that he used his political influence in any way to further the undertaking.

The success of this magnificent Canadian highroad to the Pacific was in no small degree furthered by the work of Mr. Abbott in the department of its organization in which he laboured, and his name is always associated with the promoters of this great national enterprise. Upon the completion of the railway across the continent, the disqualification caused by the holding of stock in the Company was removed, and Mr. Abbott then acquired stock in it and was elected one of its Directors, and retained this position until he resigned upon accepting the appointment of Prime Minister of Canada. In 1887, Mr. Abbott was elected Mayor of Montreal by a majority of about 2,000 votes over his opponent, Mr. Rainville. In 1888 he was re-elected by acclamation, and in the same year was appointed President of the Corporation of the Royal Victoria Hospital, an institution which had recently been founded and endowed with about $1,000,000 by the munificence of two citizens of Montreal, Lord Mount-Stephen and Sir Donald A. Smith, in commemoration of Her Majesty's Jubilee. The construction of the stately Hospital buildings, costing $500,000 has been proceeded with under Mr. Abbott's supervision as President, and they now form one of the most striking architectural ornaments of a city already rich in imposing edifices, both public and private. The buildings were designed by Saxon Snell, Esq. of London, who has a continental reputation for the designing of hospital buildings.

In 1888, Mr. Abbott was appointed a Commissioner to negotiate with Australia for closer trade relations and cable communication—for which position his knowledge of commercial, legal and diplomatic subjects eminently

fitted him. He made his preparations for his Australian mission; but the movement for Confederation began and seemed likely to be successful, and it was thought best to delay his departure till power in such matters should be concentrated by the union of the Australasian provinces. After Mr. Abbott's retirement from the House of Commons he was offered by Sir John Macdonald a seat in the Senate, with the leadership of that body and a membership of the Privy Council. These marks of confidence he accepted in the winter of 1887-88, and, until the 13th of June, 1891, continued to act as leader of the Senate and member of the Privy Council without remuneration or portfolio. At the beginning of the session of 1891, he was invited by Sir John Macdonald to accept the portfolio of President of the Council, retaining his position in the Senate, and, though his appointment was not actually made he performed the duties of that office until the lamented death of Sir John Macdonald in June, 1891. On the 13th of that month Mr. Abbott accepted the trust, committed to him by his Excellency the Governor-General, as Prime Minister of Canada, and he was called, on the Tuesday following, to proceed with the business of the country before Parliament, without any break in its continuity or any change in its policy. His former colleagues, with great unanimity, consented to continue to occupy their former positions in the Cabinet, and although the Session of 1891 was one of the most arduous which Canada has yet seen, and presented constant and ever-increasing difficulties to the Government, in consequence of the numerous administrative errors and offences which were disclosed in Committees of the House of Commons, the Conservative party presented an unbroken front throughout the Session, and the affairs and legislation of the country proceeded without material interruption.

With the aid of Sir John Thompson in the House of Commons Mr. Abbott carried the Government through struggles of great parliamentary severity, but in the celebrated bye-elections of 1892 had the satisfaction of receiving a marked evidence of popular approval. His health, unfortunately, had been poor for years, and only a strong sense of duty to the party could

have induced him to ever accept or hold the Premiership. On December 5th of that year he found retirement imperative and went to Europe in search of strength. On October 3, 1893, however, he passed away, leaving a memory for great ability, political honesty and personal self-sacrifice. He had been knighted by the Queen in 1892.

CHAPTER XXVII.

* THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN THOMPSON.

The brief but notable career of the Right Hon. Sir John Sparrow David Thompson, P. C., K.C.M.G., Q.C., which follows is extracted for the most part from a clever sketch of the late Prime Minister of Canada which appeared in 1891, in L. H. Tache's "Men of To-Day" series. It was from the pen of Mr. W. J. Healy.

Sir John Thompson a Native of Halifax—Of Irish Descent—His Early Education—A Skilful Debater—Studies Law—A Reporter in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly—Joins the Roman Catholic Church—The Leader of the Halifax Bar—Elected to the Provincial House of Assembly—Attorney-General of the Province—Appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia—A Diligent Student of Law—Appointed Minister of Justice for the Dominion—His Speech on the Execution of Louis Riel—One of Sir John Macdonald's Strongest Ministers—Knighted for his Services during the Negotiations of the Chamberlain-Bayard Fishery Treaty—Goes to England in Connection with the Copyright Question—Succeeds Sir John Abbott as Premier—His Cabinet—Appointed a British Arbitrator at the Paris Tribunal on the Behring Sea Question—Dies Suddenly at Windsor Castle—His Remains Brought to Canada on the Battleship "Blenheim."

"WHEN he made his speech in the great Riel debate, Sir John Thompson was in his forty-second year. He was born in Halifax, November 10, 1844. His father, John Sparrow Thompson, who had come to Nova Scotia, from Waterford, Ireland, his native place, was for a time Queen's Printer, and afterwards Superintendent of the Money Order system of the Province. He had him educated in the public schools of Halifax and in the Free Church Academy. His early training fashioned him well for ways of patient, faithful, intellectual endeavour, and we may well suppose that Sir John Thompson owes in no small measure to those youthful years, devoted to study under his father's care, the habits of mind which have gone far to determine the course of his life. No one who has often heard him speak can fail to be impressed by the conviction that he devotes himself with unresting energy to the mastering of all the facts having to do with any question with

* From Canada: An encyclopædia of the Country, edited by J. Castell Hopkins

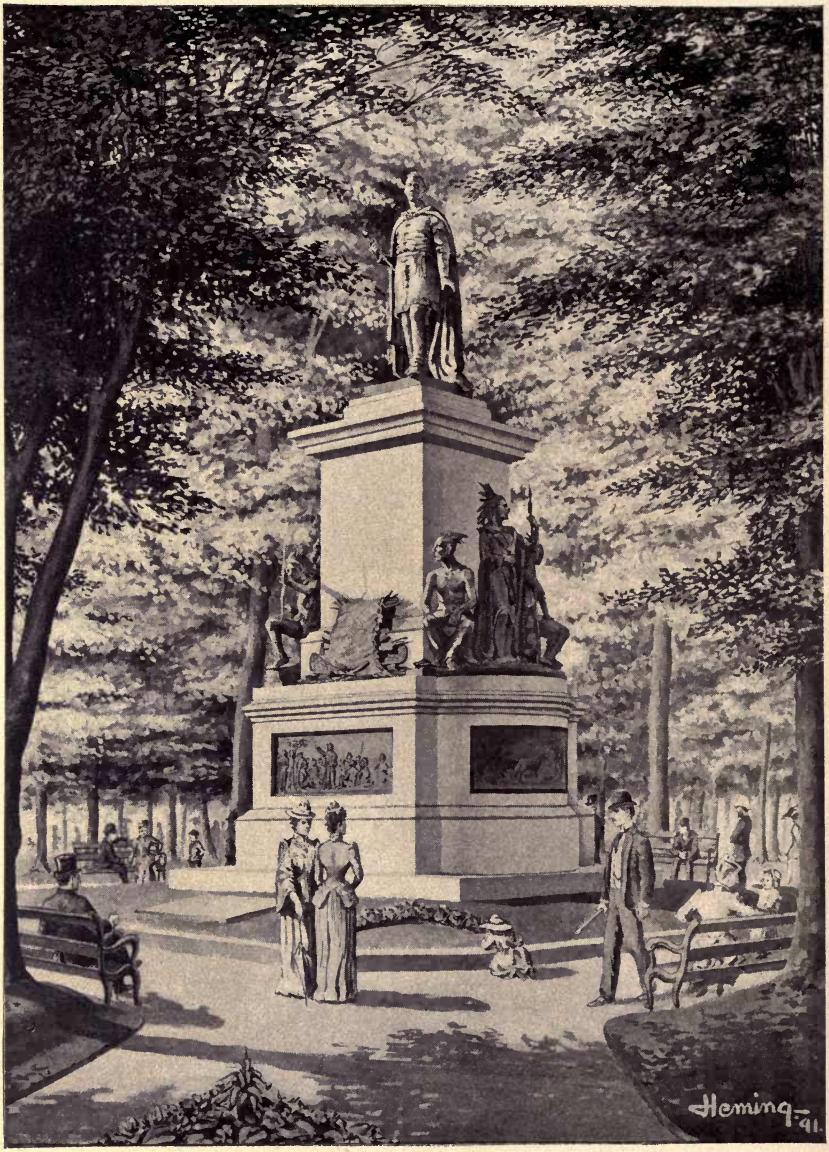
which he has to deal, and that he seeks to divest himself wholly of all possible prepossessions before making a judgment. He has shown that he has courage, though it is not the courage to overcome his convictions; and this courage must have been strengthened in him by his early training.

Of his skill in debate the young man gave early indications in the debating clubs of Halifax, where he gained a reputation as one before whom greater triumphs lay when he should seek distinction in wider fields. In 1859, he was articled as a student-at-law in the office of Mr. Henry Pryor, who was afterwards Stipendiary Magistrate in Halifax. He had already made himself a skilled stenographer and he now turned his skill to account in reporting the debates in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. In the official reports of the debates of that Legislature for the year 1867, which the curious may find for the seeking on the shelves of the Library of Parliament, Mr. John George Bourinot, now the learned clerk of the House of Commons, who was the Official Reporter, makes acknowledgment in his preface of the assistance of Mr. John S. D. Thompson. In the following year, the preface to the official debates had the signature of Mr. Thompson, who had succeeded to the place of Reporter-in-Chief. During the four following sessions he continued to report the debates. These years of service on the floor of the Legislative Chamber of his native Province were of advantage to him in giving a thorough and ready knowledge of the procedure of Parliament and a complete acquaintance with the politics and political leaders of the time, which stood him in excellent stead when he himself became a member of the House of Assembly.

He was called to the Bar in July, 1865, in his twenty-first year. Five years later he married Miss Annie Affleck, the daughter of Captain Affleck, of Halifax. A year later he became a convert to the Roman Catholic Church. In the practice of his profession he was notably successful from the beginning and before many years held the place of acknowledged leader of the Halifax Bar. In December, 1877, after having served as an Alderman and as Chairman of the Board of School Commissioners in Halifax during several previous years, he was elected at a bye-election to represent Antigonish in the Provincial House of Assembly. He brought a great accession of debating

strength to the Opposition and when the Liberal Government was overthrown in the general election of the following year—in which he stood again for Antigonish and was re-elected by acclamation—the portfolio of Attorney-General went to him as a matter of course in the new Government of which Mr. Simon H. Holmes was Leader. It was known as the Holmes-Thompson Government. On the eve of the next Provincial election he was left at its head by the retirement of Mr. Holmes, who had held the portfolio of Provincial Secretary. The Government went before the people to stand or fall by the judgment to be passed by the Province upon Mr. Thompson's Municipal Corporation Act, which incorporated each county in the province and provided for local municipal self-government (instead of the old system of government by Sessions of the Peace and by the Grand Jury), vesting the power of expenditure of the road and bridge moneys in the municipal councils, and making extensive reforms in the method of disbursing such public grants. Though a measure more to the lasting advantage of the province was never passed in the Legislature, it at once raised a storm of opposition against Mr. Thompson's Government. A thousand voices were lifted against it from a thousand stumps. The Liberals were pledged to make havoc of it if they were returned to power. Magistrates, all over the Province, whom it deprived of the share they had in governing the counties, and an army of people who had been accustomed before the Act was passed to obtain or look for appointments carrying with them the expenditure of the road and bridge moneys, fought for its appeal with all their might. After a hotly contested campaign, the Government was defeated at the polls in July, 1882, by a majority of five members. Mr. Thompson was himself again returned for Antigonish. A Liberal Government came in, and, a month or two later, he was, to the great acceptance of the Bar of the Province, appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

When he came out of the House of Assembly he was in his thirty-eighth year. He had been a severely honest politician; and though politics, perhaps, were not wholly congenial to him, he had won a high reputation in his Province. It was chiefly as a jurist that he had stood forth from among his colleagues in the Cabinet. Then as now, he never engaged in



THE BRANT MONUMENT, BRANTFORD

debate without making manifest his great knowledge of law and of the principles of law. When he was in the Government of Nova Scotia, the public affairs of that province were in an unusally critical condition. He attempted several reforms, among them the abolition of the Provincial Senate or Legislative Council. The work of constructing the railway from New Glasgow to the Strait of Canso, which had been abandoned under the previous administration, was resumed under new conditions, and the road completed before 1882. The railway in the western counties, which had likewise been abandoned, was finished from Digby to Yarmouth, a distance of eighty miles, and put into operation. The preceding Government had made the beginning of a floating public debt, and the incoming administration had to take up a burden of more than $300,000. When Mr. Thompson retired from office in 1882 and made way for the Liberals, the debt had been decreased and the regular expenditure so far lowered as to be brought within the limits of the income of the Province.

His father was a friend and associate of Joseph Howe, and thus, though his strongest predilections have always been for the study and administration of law, there is something to be said on the score of heredity for his having become a politician. When he accepted, however, the office of Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, in the summer of 1882, it was said of him that he fulfilled then what had been his chief ambition since he was a young man. More than that he restored strength to a tribunal which had been losing somewhat of its old *prestige*. It is said by a friend of Sir John Thompson that, when he was made a judge of the Supreme Court, he formed a resolution to which he adhered faithfully while he was on the Bench, not to allow any day to pass without at least five hours' study of law. These three years of quiet continuous thought and study we may well believe were more to his desire than the preceding years which had been filled with the noise of politics. Among the permanent results of his work, while he was on the Bench, is the Judicature Act, which became law in 1884. It was drafted by him, and it simplified greatly the practice of the Courts. He also found time to deliver a course of lectures on "Evidence" in the Law School at Dalhousie.

When the Dominion Government needed him at Ottawa, he loyally allowed his own inclinations to weigh less with him than the necessities of his former political friends. He resigned from the Bench of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia on November 25, 1885, and was immediately afterwards appointed Minister of Justice of the Dominion. In a leading article in the *Mail* at the time of his appointment, and when all Western Canada was curious about the new Minister from the East, appeared the following paragraph regarding him: "Starting, like nearly all young men of his time, as a follower of Howe in the Anti-Confederation period, more from personal fondness, perhaps, than from a profound conviction, he gladly acquiesced in the acceptance by Howe, in 1869, of the better terms which, by the wise determination of Sir John Macdonald, were made the sign and seal of Imperial as well as of Canadian politics. Since 1869 he has been a most faithful, high-minded, unselfish and respected advocate of the policy of the great chief of the Liberal-Conservative party of Canada. As a lawyer, his success has been remarkable. He has the faculty of the initiative, and is really learned in the law. As an orator, his style is usually subdued, but effective, and in due season, on proper provocation, he can exercise a power of declamation quite remarkable in one who is not effusive in manner. His gift of accomplished sarcasm has been the secret terror of a good many bumptious gentlemen. Every success he has won, and all the popularity he has preserved, and all the authority he has attained are due in part to the fact that his high and unstained personal character has obtained for him a position which no one has ever attempted with any hope of success to assail. He is more successful when he speaks from his place in the House than when he makes election addresses in a political campaign."

After the session of Parliament in 1886, he made a tour in Ontario in company with Sir John Macdonald, Hon. Thomas White, then Minister of the Interior, and Hon. George E. Foster, at that time Minister of Marine and Fisheries. His speech in the debate on the execution of Louis Riel had made him vastly popular throughout Ontario; and though, as a speaker,

he is perhaps too self-contained and deliberate to thoroughly arouse such audiences as he addressed during the campaign, the interest and enthusiasm increased constantly during the tour.

At the general elections, on March 5, 1891, He was again returned to represent Antigonish in the House of Commons. The election campaign, which was destined to be the last of the many through which Sir John Macdonald led his forces to face the fortune of political warfare at the polls, was contested stubbornly in all parts of the Dominion, and Sir John Thompson bore a distinguished share of its hardships and labors. The Minister of Justice owes his knighthood to the services which he rendered during the negotiation of the Chamberlain-Bayard Fishery Treaty, in 1887. He, in company with Sir Charles Tupper, went to Washington as the legal adviser of the British Plenipotentiaries, and prepared for them their briefs. The voluminous reports he had previously prepared upon the various questions of an International character which had arisen in connection with the Atlantic Fisheries had already received high commendation from Her Majesty's Government. In recognition of his valuable assistance on this occasion, Her Majesty conferred on him the Knight Commandership of St. Michael and St. George, in August, 1888. It should be said also that he was appointed Queen's Counsel in May, 1879, and that he was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1890. It is not needed that mention should be made in this place of the many statutes prepared by Sir John Thompson which have become law under his supervision to the great benefit of public and private interests. Every Session since he has been Minister of Justice, he has brought before Parliament a large volume of new legislation. His amendments to the banking laws and his constant revision of the criminal law may be specially noted as of great public advantage. In connection with the copyright question he went to England in 1890, and laid before the Home Government the argument on behalf of the Canadian Government in an able memorandum addressed to Lord Knutsford, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Copyright Act, to protect the interests of Canadian publishers in respect to foreign copyrights, was passed by the Dominion Parliament in the preceding year."

Following the death of Sir John Macdonald, in June, 1891, came the brief Premiership of Sir John Abbott, during which Sir John Thompson led the House of Commons and participated in the events connected with the striking series of bye-election victories which marked the year 1892. Party considerations, based chiefly upon his personal religious views, had made Sir John Thompson, in 1891, unselfishly waive his claims to the Premiership, which, after those of Sir Charles Tupper, were by far the strongest of any public leader of that time. But on November 25, 1892, Sir John Abbott found that his health was giving way, and on the faint chance of its preservation resigned his post. With general satisfaction, not unshared by political opponents, Sir John Thompson was called upon to form a Government, which he did on December 6, as follows:

Premier and Minister of Justice	Sir John S. D. Thompson.
Minister of Trade and Commerce	Hon. Mackenzie Bowell.
Postmaster-General	Sir Adolph Caron, K.C.M.G.
Secretary of State	Hon. John Costigan
Minister of Finance	Hon. George E. Foster.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries	Sir C. H. Tupper, K.C.M.G.
Minister of Railways and Canals	Hon. John G. Haggart.
Minister of Public Works	Hon. J. Alderic Ouimet.
Minister of Militia and Defence	Hon. J. C. Patterson.
Minister of the Interior	Hon. T. Mayne Daly.
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. A. R. Angers.
Without Portfolio	Sir Frank Smith, K.C.M.G.
Without Portfolio	Sir John Carling, K.C.M.G.
President of the Council	Hon. W. B. Ives.

In the Ministry, but not in the Cabinet.

Solicitor-General	Hon. J. J. Curran, Q.C.
Comptroller of Customs	Hon. N. Clarke Wallace.
Comptroller of Inland Revenue	Hon. J. F. Wood, Q.C.

Prior to this event, and in the preceding February, Sir John Thompson with Mr. Mackenzie Bowell and Mr. G. E. Foster, had represented the Government of Canada at an important but resultless conference in trade matters at Washington. He had also taken an active part in obtaining the refusal of the Imperial Government to the Bond-Blaine arrangement of 1890, and was a member of a Conference held at Halifax in November, 1892, to discuss the ensuing difficulties between Canada and Newfoundland and the possibilities of the latter's entry into Confederation.

Shortly after becoming Premier Sir John Thompson was appointed a British Arbitrator at the Paris tribunal for the settlement of the Behring Sea question, and for his great judicial services in this capacity was called to the Imperial Privy Council. Upon his return from Paris the Premier, in 1893, made a political tour of Ontario and was given a most cordial reception. His last public function in Canada was the unveiling of the Toronto statue to Sir John A. Macdonald on October 13, 1894. A little later, on December 12, he died suddenly at Windsor Castle, a few minutes after being sworn in by the Queen as a member of the Privy Council. His ceremonial and national funeral—from the Royal Castle to a British battleship, and from the "Blenheim" to the stately Cathedral at Halifax—was an event of memorable import in the evolution of closer Imperial sympathy.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL.

By J. Lambert Payne.

Sir Mackenzie Bowell a Native of England—Of Humble Parentage—Begins Work at the Age of Eleven—An Apprentice in "The Intelligencer" Office, Belleville—At Eighteen Years of Age Attends School for Six Months—Wins a Teacher's Certificate—Returns to "The Intelligencer" Office as Foreman—Marries Miss Harriett Louisa Moore—Purchases "The Intelligencer" Plant—Establishes "The Diurnal"—In 1868 Publishes "The Daily Intelligencer"—Fond of Public Controversy—An Honest Politician—One of the Leading Citizens of Belleville—Becomes a Candidate for Political Honors in 1863—In 1867 Elected to the First Dominion Parliament—An Active Member of the Conservative Party—In 1878 Given Portfolio of Minister of Customs—In 1892 Becomes Leader of the Senate—On Death of Sir John Thompson Called to the Premiership—His Cabinet—Knighted by Her Majesty—A Prominent Orangeman—His Interest in Military Affairs—The Character of the Man—Resigns the Premiership.

IT was my privilege to know Sir Mackenzie Bowell for many years, and to serve him in a closely personal capacity during the eventful period of his Premiership, as well as for a long time anterior to that *regime*. The intimacy arising from that relationship, and the opportunities it afforded for learning his history and characteristics, make up the only excuse which can be offered for this brief biographical sketch being prepared by my hands.

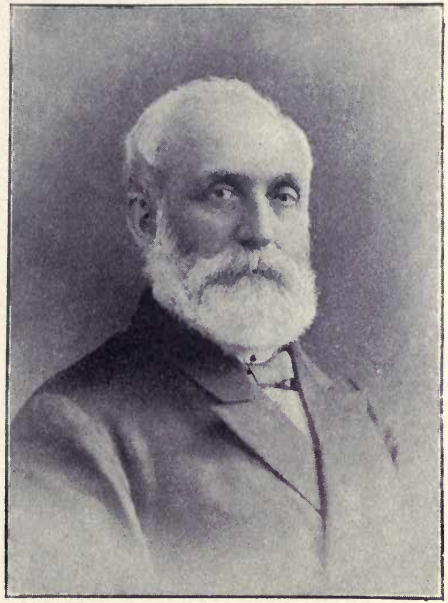
Sir Mackenzie Bowell was born at Rickinghall, in Suffolk, England, on the 27th of December, 1823. His father was a builder, and, in 1833, emigrated to this country. One year later saw the boy apprenticed to Mr. George Benjamin, of Belleville, to learn the trade and handicraft of a printer. He was then eleven years of age, and Mr. Benjamin's printing office, whence *The Intelligencer* was issued, had all the inconveniences and primitive makeshifts of a country weekly in a practically pioneer settlement. The new boy started off as "printer's devil," and from confessions of mischievous pranks in those early days, it may fairly be assumed that the appellation in his case was not altogether misplaced. His apprenticeship took him from

his home and brought him wholly under the care of his employer—as was the custom in those times. Mr. Benjamin was a gentleman of high education and public spirit, and it is certain that he exercised a great influence in moulding the character and aspirations of his young apprentice. It is worthy of note that in succeeding years the young man followed closely in the footsteps of his kind and capable mentor; but in each capacity, whether in business, municipal affairs, social organizations, or in political life he advanced one step higher. This was purely a coincidence, for Sir Mackenzie has assured me that he neither set up Mr. Benjamin as his ideal nor sought in any way to follow in his footsteps in life. Be that as it may, the young "printer's devil" passed through his three years' apprenticeship, and at fourteen ranked as a journeyman. It was a proud day for him when he realized that he was a master printer and able to earn an independent livelihood. He continued with Mr. Benjamin in this capacity on *The Intelligencer* until he was eighteen years of age. He had then saved a little money, and, desiring to equip himself with a better education—although there are few schools more thorough and practical than a newspaper office—he went to the school of Mr. Thomas Agar, of Sydney, in the County of Hastings, where he spent six months in hard and earnest work with his books. Such progress did he make that at the end of his term he was given a certificate of qualification as teacher. More than that, he accepted an engagement to take charge of a school.

But he was not destined for work of that sort. It was a turning point in his life, and the turn brought him back into closer association than ever with his old friend, Mr. George Benjamin. On the Saturday preceding the week he was to begin work as a rural dominie he met his former employer and was induced to go back to *The Intelligencer* office as foreman, at the munificent salary of $10 a month, with board and washing—which was probably as much as he would have received, in those days, as a school teacher. Six years later he was given a full partnership in the business, and on the strength of this better prospect in life, he consummated an engagement of several years with Miss Harriet Louisa Moore, and was married, December, 1847. Confidence came with experience, and, stimulated by the ambition

to rise higher, he joined with his brother-in-law in 1848, and took the printing property off Mr. Benjamin's hands. But Mr. Bowell's temperament and instincts of self-reliance did not fit him for a harmonious partnership, and at the end of three years he became sole proprietor of the newspaper. Thus he started in as "devil" and in sixteen years came to be absolute owner, editor and publisher. *The Intelligencer* was still continued as a weekly newspaper and a job printing office; but the young proprietor was ambitious to have it meet the growing wants of the community. Accordingly, when the first Atlantic cable had been laid, he began the publication of a little evening sheet, named the *Diurnal*, for which his subscribers paid him a York-shilling per week. It was designed to give the latest European news that flashed through the cable, and it is worthy of passing mention that the operator who received those dispatches was Mr. H. P. Dwight, the now widely-known General Manager of the Great North-Western Telegraph Company. But the *Diurnal* was not a paying investment, and after a time was abandoned. In 1866 the publication of the *Daily Intelligencer* was begun, and, although Sir Mackenzie ceased to have any connection with it in 1878, it has ever since continued to flourish.

Interest quite naturally centres in the genesis of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's public career. He was still a very young man when he became identified with a local debating club, and was one of its most enthusiastic and possibly pugnacious members until a little incident occurred which diverted him permanently from the mock to the real arena of discussion. The subject for debate on a particular evening was the time-worn and still unsettled question: "From which does man derive more pleasure, anticipation or realization?" and an Irish schoolmaster of the old stamp was in the chair as judge. The young printer came heavily primed for the occasion, and presented what he believed to be a convincing argument in favor of "anticipation." The old schoolmaster evidently thought the same, yet he summed up in rich Hibernian brogue as follows: "B'ys, ye have debated this soobject wid a good deal of tact and ability. The side of anticipation has the best of the argument, but as Oi belave in realisation, Oi decide that way!" This was too much for the youthful orator, and he never returned to the debating



THE HON. SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL, K.C.M.G.

THE HON. SIR ADOLPHE J. P. R. CARON
K.C.M.G.

school. But he did not weaken in his interest in public controversy, and at 24 years of age, full of the vivacity and fearlessness which has characterized his whole life, he plunged into the thick of a political campaign. He went through the County of Hastings in the interest of Mr. (afterwards the Honourable) Edmund Murney, and, although his candidate was defeated, he did not lose heart; for in 1849, two years later, the struggle was renewed with victorious results. It was in this campaign of 1849 that an incident occurred which fairly illustrates the character of the man and of the times. He was given $10 to defray the expenses of the election in the Township of Hungerford, one of the largest divisions in the Riding. It cost him $1 to have a voter taken from Tweed to Marmora, a distance of about sixteen miles, and with some satisfaction he afterwards returned $9 to the Central Committee in Belleville. Those who are familiar with the heavy costs attending the election campaigns of to-day, might properly wish for a return to the inexpensive methods of those primitive days.

With unabated enthusiasm Mr. Bowell took an active part in public affairs in general from that time onward. Athough repeatedly urged to accept municipal responsibilities, he steadily held to the purpose of keeping out of that arena; but for thirteen years he was a member of the School Board of Belleville, during eleven of which he served as Chairman and part of the time also as Chairman of the Grammar School Board. Throughout his life he has displayed the deepest interest in matters appertaining to education, and one of the objects of his long journey up the north-west coast of British Columbia and across the prairies of the North-West Territories during the summer of 1895 was to personally investigate the system of Industrial Schools established by the Government among the Indians. Sir Mackenzie Bowell first became a candidate for political honors in 1863. Mr. Benjamin, who had represented the riding for fourteen years, declined in that year to run again, and his one-time *protegé* was put forward in his stead. At that time Upper Canada constituencies were in a state of feverish excitement over racial and religious questions. *The Globe*, under George Brown, had been waging for some years a bitter crusade against Roman Catholic institutions in general and special privileges in particular. The question immediately at

issue was the incorporation of Roman Catholic Institutions, and "The Ladies of Loretto" was singled out for special controversy. Mr. Benjamin had voted for the latter measure and Mr. Bowell was now called upon to pledge himself to an opposite course. He refused. He took the high and patriotic ground that, in a country like this, occupied by a heterogeneous population, it was impossible to govern successfully along such narrow lines. He argued that it would be unjust to take away rights and privileges which had been acquired by law, and contrary to what he understood to be the principles of the Conservative party. Prejudices were, however, actively aroused, and, as is always the case under such circumstances, a deaf ear was turned to the voice of reason and toleration. Mr. Bowell was defeated.

It is an extraordinary coincidence that at the very threshold of his political career he should have been confronted by the same phase of religious controversy that met him when he assumed the Premiership. Mr. Bowell knew that his position upon the issue of 1863 meant certain defeat; yet he refused to do violence to his sense of justice, regardless of the course of expediency which his ambition for a seat in Parliament might have suggested. In 1867, he was elected to the first Dominion Parliament. In the years which had intervened between his first candidature and this contest, the bargain of Confederation had been consummated, and its provisions had been accepted by the people at large. The electoral riding of North Hastings was composed then, as it is to-day, of strongly Protestant elements, and on general principles Separate Schools found no favor in the community; but they realized that these concessions formed a part of the basis of Confederation, and they accepted them as being outside the pale of useful controversy. Thus, Mr. Bowell entered Parliament without compromising the principles which he had laid down in his first appeal to the people of Hastings.

I have neither the space nor the disposition at this time to follow him through his twenty-five years in the House of Commons. It would be too long a story. Suffice it, that his restless energy took him quickly into the active business of the House. His natural fondness for details and fearless methods of analysis soon made him a conspicuous figure in the shaping of Parliamentary measures. Later on, when his party had passed into

opposition, and it was numerically weak in the House, it is said that he became a veritable thorn in the side of the Government. Early and late, on the floor of the House and in the Committee rooms, in the press and on the hustings, he carried on a vigorous and unceasing fight for the principles of his party, and when Sir John Macdonald was returned to power in 1878, no one was surprised that Mackenzie Bowell should be given the important portfolio of Minister of Customs in the new Government. It is worthy of mention that he was, in 1895, the sole survivor in office of the Cabinet of 1878—six of his colleagues of 1878 having died and the others being in various spheres of life outside. For thirteen years he served as Minister of Customs; for a year as Minister of Militia; for two years as Minister of Trade and Commerce; and for a year and nearly five months—December 21, 1894, to April 27, 1896—as Premier and President of the Council. When the late Sir John Thompson assumed the Premiership, in December, 1892, Mr. Bowell was asked to take the leadership of the Senate, and he assumed it with reluctance. This took him out of the House of Commons, where he had sat for twenty-five years in unbroken representation of the North Riding of Hastings. It was in the year following this change that he made his famous visit to Australia, and paved the way for the Colonial Conference of 1894—which gathering may yet come to be regarded as one of the most significant events in the modern history of the British Empire. On December 14, following the tragic death of Sir John Thompson, he was called to the Premiership, and on the 1st of January, 1895, he was knighted by Her Majesty. His Ministry was made up as follows:

Premier and President of the Council	Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell
Minister of Justice	Hon. C. H. Tupper
Minister of Trade and Commerce	Hon. W. B. Ives
Postmaster-General	Hon. Sir A. P. Caron
Secretary of State	Hon. A. R. Dickey
Minister of Finance	Hon. G. E. Foster
Minister of Marine and Fisheries	Hon. John Costigan
Minister of Railways and Canals	Hon. J. G. Haggart
Minister of Public Works	Hon. J. A. Ouimet
Minister of Militia	Hon. J. C. Patterson
Minister of the Interior	Hon. Thomas M. Daly
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. A. R. Angers

Without Portfolio	Hon. Sir Frank Smith
Without Portfolio	Hon. W. H. Montague
Without Portfolio	Hon. D. Ferguson

Not in Cabinet

Solicitor-General	Hon. John J. Curran
Comptroller of Inland Revenue	Hon. John F. Wood
Comptroller of Customs	Hon. N. Clarke Wallace

No reference to the career of Sir Mackenzie Bowell would be complete without incidental treatment of the part which he has played as a volunteer and as an Orangeman. It was in 1857 that he joined with two others in the organisation of the Belleville Rifle Company of sixty-five men, taking the personal rank of Ensign. At that time all that the Government furnished in Class B were the arms, the uniforms being purchased almost wholly by the officers. In 1860 his Company was re-uniformed and the officers bore the additional expense of providing a band. In 1864 the Belleville Rifle Company, with other similar volunteer organizations, was called out for service along the Canadian frontier, in order to prevent raids being made upon the United States by Southerners who were making this country a base of operations. The Belleville Company was stationed at Amherstburg, Ontario, for four months, and on returning home in May, 1865, the Ensign decided to retire. When the Fenian Raid occurred in 1866 the military spirit again took possession of him. The Captain of No. 1 Company of the 15th Battalion could not leave for the front, and Mackenzie Bowell, regardless of business and domestic care, volunteered to take his place. He was accepted and put in charge of No. 1 Company as Captain. The Battalion served at Prescott until the Fenian trouble was over. Subsequently the 49th Battalion was organized, No. 1 Company being composed of the old Rifle Company organized in 1857, and Mr. Bowell was made Senior Major. He continued in that rank for five years and for two years afterwards was brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. He then permanently retired retaining the senior rank. Sir Mackenzie Bowell's experience as an Orangeman dates from 1842, when, at nineteen years of age he was initiated into that Order. It would be a long story to trace his rise from the ranks to the high offices, and many facts of interest in that relation must be passed over. Beginning at the humble post

of Tyler, he passed step by step upward until he became Provincial Grand Master. This he held for eight years, and then succeeded the late Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, as Most Worshipful Grand Master. While in that office he was sent as a delegate to Great Britain, and was there elected as the first President of the Triennial Council. In 1878, after having occupied the first Chair for eight years, he retired from office in the Orange Order.

It may not be amiss to hint at the qualities which I believe brought Mackenzie Bowell into great public prominence. It was my privilege to study his character from a point of advantage for a number of years, and I know that I shall have the concurring judgment of all those who know him best, when I say that he owes very much to his prodigious energy, his masterly grasp of detail, his urbanity of manner and his spotless integrity of life. In short, he has been a very capable man, who has commanded popular trust. He stands for what the world recognizes as "a good all round man," gifted with acute sagacity in many things, and bringing a robust common sense to bear on all things. It was Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton who said: "The longer I live the more I am certain that the great difference between men, between the great and the insignificant, is energy, invincible determination, an honest purpose once fixed, then death or victory. This quality will do anything in the world; and no talents, no circumstances, will make a two-legged creature a man without it." A hundred apt illustrations of this truthful observation could be drawn from our everyday life in commerce, in education, in religion, and in politics; but it has no more conspicuous exponent than Sir Mackenzie Bowell.

Towards the close of April, 1896, Sir Mackenzie resigned the Premiership, and Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., was called upon to form a Cabinet. I know that it would afford interesting reading if I were to detail the circumstances which came under my personal observation during those days of trouble and excitement in December, 1895, and January, 1896, but it would not be proper that I should do so now, nor would such a statement serve any useful purpose. It is sufficient to say at this time that Sir Mackenzie came out of the ordeal without a stain on his good name, and passed into quieter avenues of public life with the knowledge that he had the

sincere sympathy of a vast majority of the people of Canada. No one realized more deeply than himself that he lacked some of the qualities which make a political leader strong; but it was not one of his failings to flinch from the dictates of duty nor to depart from his strict notions of fair play and justice. It can never be denied that he was moved in his general conduct by high patriotic considerations; nor that he yielded his full energy to the promotion of measures which he conscientiously believed were for the public weal. Speaking of his life as a Cabinet Minister, it may be said that he was not an intolerant man swayed by narrow views; on the contrary it may be maintained that he brought a broad-minded judgment to bear on all matters coming within the scope of his administration. He was not even a strong partisan, as has often been said by those who judged only from superficial evidences. He was an uncompromising Conservative so far as general policy was concerned; but I never knew him to allow party considerations to influence him in his friendships, in his notions of right and wrong, or in his conceptions of what was for the best good of the public service.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

BY J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

Sir Charles Tupper One of the Great Leaders of the Conservative Party of British North America—The Right-Hand of Sir John A. Macdonald—Born at Amherst, Nova Scotia—The Son of a Clergyman—Educated in Nova Scotia and at the University of Edinburgh—Receives the Degree of M. D. in 1843—Practises Medicine in Nova Scotia—His Marriage—Joseph Howe his Great Rival—Defeats Howe for the Provincial Assembly in 1855—The Fighting Head of the Conservative Party in Nova Scotia—The Conservatives in Power—Tupper Appointed Provincial Secretary—Goes to London to Promote the Building of a Railway from Halifax to Quebec—Practises Medicine in Halifax—In 1864 Becomes Premier of Nova Scotia—His Part in Confederation—Becomes President of the Privy Council—Minister of Inland Revenue—Minister of Customs—Takes a Strong Interest in the Canadian Pacific Railway—In Opposition—Practises his Profession in Ottawa and Toronto—Advocates the National Policy—Minister of Public Works, Etc.—Created a K.C.M.G.—Sir Charles Tupper a Vigorous Debater—Becomes High Commissioner for Canada in London—In 1887 Appointed Minister of Finance—Returns to London as High Commissioner—Does Good Work for Canada as High Commissioner—In 1891 Helps Sir John in his Last General Election—Becomes Premier on Resignation of Sir Mackenzie Bowell—His Cabinet—His Stand on the Manitoba School Question—Defeated at the General Election—His Public Honors—One of Canada's Grand Old Men.

IN the formative period of the politics and constitution of a new country personal force is as necessary as personal *finesse*. To the Conservative party of British America in the latter half of the nineteenth century two leaders were given in the persons of Charles Tupper and John A. Macdonald, who were respectively possessed of these elements of power in a most unique and effective degree. As the years passed on and the Nova Scotia leader stretched out his hand to the great statesman of Canada in a policy of federal union, and, later on, of railway development and tariff action, a new Dominion, broadening out from sea to sea, realized the importance of this combination of personal qualities and accepted Sir Charles Tupper as the right hand of Sir John Macdonald and his probable successor in political power and

party leadership. In that period lie the most important germs of Canadian development, and around it may be seen the shadows of Provincial and National struggles in which these two men were always to the front and always in harmonized public action. Sir John Macdonald combined, in his great public career, a marvellous power of managing men with a skilled capacity, which was also innate and instinctive, for knowing what the people wanted and how and when they wanted it. He possessed a magnetic personality which drew men to him and made the arts of an orator unnecessary. Yet these he possessed in some measure, though not in the forceful degree which made his Nova Scotia friend and colleague so valuable. He was essentially a constructive statesman and as such employed all the elements of conciliation with consummate skill. On the other hand, strength of purpose and vigour of attack, strength of policy and determined energy in its defence, strength of frame and voice and style of thought were the characteristics of Sir Charles Tupper.

Born at Amherst, Nova Scotia, on July 2, 1821, Charles Tupper was the son of the Rev. Dr. Tupper, a veteran Baptist minister and scholar of the Province. He was educated at Horton Academy, and received the degree of M.A. in course, and afterwards the honorary one of D.C.L. from Acadia College. He went to the University of Edinburgh, graduated as M.D. in 1843, and became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of the same city. Returning to Nova Scotia he practised his profession for a number of years at Amherst with eminent success. There he married, in 1846, Miss Frances Amelia Morse, and fifty years later celebrated at the capital of the Dominion, amid innumerable congratulations and the receipt of many gifts, the golden anniversary of a happy marriage. Up to 1855 Dr. Tupper took no active part in public matters, though his commanding presence, clever conversational powers and personal popularity seemed to mark him out for political preferment. Then came the moment—the turning point in fortune's fickle favour—which comes to most men at some time in their lives, and upon the issue of which, in his case, depended a future of high position and wide opportunities for good.

VIEW OF MOUNT LEFROY IN THE ROCKIES

Joseph Howe was then the darling of the people of Nova Scotia. He was a man of such brilliant abilities, such far-seeing views, such powerful oratorical force, that had the arena been a little larger, and his field of achievement a little more important, the ranks of the English-speaking world would have rung with his name and fame. As it was he must be deemed by history a great man—despite the limitation of his life and his Provincial environment. In 1855, with all the *prestige* of popular and Liberal leadership, and his great reputation as an orator and a politician, he came to Cumberland County, where he had been previously elected in 1852, as a candidate for the Provincial Assembly in the general election. Dr. Tupper was persuaded to oppose him in the Conservative interest, and in doing so faced a running tide of public opinion in the opposite direction and the necessity of giving up much of an extensive medical practice. With all his energy, however, he threw himself into the fight, and the result of the strenuous struggle, typical of many an after contest, was a victory for the young Conservative over an eloquent veteran of many years' supremacy, and in an election during which the Province went overwhelmingly Liberal. He entered the new House with sixteen party colleagues out of fifty-two members, but with a reputation which Howe was the first to help by the statement that he had been beaten by one who would be "the leader of the Conservative party."

From that time Dr. Tupper was the fighting head of the party in the Province, although for nine years to come Hon. James W. Johnston remained the nominal leader. With his appearance in the house and residence at Halifax, which followed, a new and distinct period commenced in his career. His platform in and out of the Legislature was conciliation for sectarian issues and the building of necessary railways by and through the Government and not as a result of individual enterprise. The first won for him and his party the Roman Catholic vote; the second neutralized in a political sense the energetic transportation policy of Howe. In February, 1857, the Conservatives came into office and Dr. Tupper was appointed Provincial Secretary. Largely through his activity and initiative many important reforms were effected. The existing monopoly in mines and

minerals was abolished, the basis of popular representation in the Assembly was enlarged, the Jury law was amended and consolidated, subordinate public officers were disqualified from sitting in the Legislature, and the initiative of money votes by the Government adopted. In 1858, Dr. Tupper went to London to promote the building of a railway from Halifax to Quebec, and though the mission was not immediately successful he benefited largely by his personal intercourse with English statesmen and by discussions which arose as to the feasibility of uniting the British American Provinces in a federal union.

As a result of the elections, in the succeeding year his party in the Province was beaten, although Dr. Tupper was again chosen for Cumberland. He went into the practice of his profession in Halifax, and during the next four years also exhibited in public life that personal vigour which has always so greatly characterized him. He swept the Province with a storm of censure which resulted finally in the Conservatives winning forty out of fifty-five seats in the elections of 1863. Those were days of strong language and bitter politics, and in this school the young leader received a training which afterwards stood him in good stead in a much wider sphere. The local men, however, were not to be despised. No greater debater and platform speaker has appeared in Dominion history than Howe, and with him were men like Adams G. Archibald, Jonathan McCully and William Annand, while with Tupper were the experienced Johnston—himself a man of eloquence and ability—and rising men such as W. A. Henry, J. W. Ritchie and James McDonald. In 1864 Mr. Johnston retired to the Bench and at the age of forty-three Dr. Tupper became Premier of his native Province. During 1863 and the succeeding three years much was done in Nova Scotia indicative of a fact patent to all students of politics in British America—that Conservative administration does not mean stagnation, or indifference to the requirements of public progress.

During his administration, and by his initiative, the School law of 1864 was passed. Upon this free school legislation is based the whole educational system of Nova Scotia, and out of it has come immense benefit to people who at that time neglected the subject and seemed absolutely indifferent to the

existing inefficiency. Between 1861 and 1871, as an immediate result, the number of children attending school between the ages of five and fifteen increased from 31,000 to 90,000. But although non-partisan in its nature and in its passage through the Legislature, the measure was naturally unpopular from the inevitable increase of taxation, and it had an ultimately serious influence in defeating the Government in 1867. Meanwhile, however, a greater question had come into view—the legislative union of the Maritime Provinces—and out of this evolved the first practical steps toward British American federation. While John A. Macdonald and George Brown were coalescing in the Canadas upon a policy of federal union, S. L. Tilley in New Brunswick, Charles Tupper in Nova Scotia and W. H. Pope in Prince Edward Island were proposing resolutions in their respective Legislatures for a Conference at Charlottetown to discuss a union of the three Maritime Provinces. Naturally, the opportunity was seized upon by the Canadian leaders to suggest the enlargement of the scope and membership of the gathering and to ask permission to share in its proceedings. Dr. Tupper and Mr. Tilley joined in the acceptance of the proposal and out of the ensuing discussions came the Federal Conference at Quebec, the crowning gathering in London, and the formation and establishment of the Dominion on July 1, 1867.

Seven years before, in 1860, Dr. Tupper in lecturing at St. John, N.B., had urged a federal union as the only cure for the political ills of Canada, and had claimed that, although the time was not ripe for complete action, yet a preliminary step of great importance would be the union of the Maritime Provinces. He had now helped in the accomplishment of the legislative part of this large policy and in the constructive creation of the new constitution. There was still to follow one of the chief political battles of his life—one in which he had public opinion against him and all the vehement and cutting force of Howe's oratory and the persuasive influence of Howe's personality added thereto.

In the preliminary stage of the struggle he had been successful, and the Legislative Assembly and Council of the Province had both approved the Confederation measure and thus enabled it to become law by Act of the

Imperial Parliament. But when the Government of which Dr. Tupper had been the head appealed to the people of the Province when the elections for the new House of Commons took place, the result of Mr. Howe's agitation became evident. Despite a struggle on the part of the late Premier, which is still remembered for its intense earnestness and force, they were beaten at every point, and he alone of the Confederate candidates of Nova Scotia was returned to the Dominion Parliament, while in the Provincial Legislature only two out of the thirty-eight members were elected as supporters of Confederation. In this contest the deeps of political bitterness had been stirred, and during the ensuing two years they were to be probed to a point perilously near rebellion by Howe and his friends.

The anti-Confederate leader held the Province practically in the hollow of his hand, and, with its almost unanimous protest against the union, he went to London to move heaven and earth and the Imperial Government in the direction of permitted secession. There he was met by Tupper on behalf of the Federal Government, and their contest was thus changed from the political to the semi-diplomatic arena. In the capital of the Empire the two rivals now met in frequent personal consultation, as well as in public conflict, and the result was that while Howe did everything that man could do to move the Government and Parliament in the line of his proposals, he failed, and, in failing, found himself face to face with an issue which involved civil war or rebellion as the result of continued agitation, and the alternative urged by Dr. Tupper of adopting conciliation, compromise and submission to the inevitable. He returned to Halifax, commenced the difficult process of soothing public passions, and awaited the result of a visit to the Provincial capital of Sir John Macdonald, Dr. Tupper, Sir George Cartier and others. Within a few months the matter was settled, better financial terms given Nova Scotia, other difficulties ameliorated and Joseph Howe a member of the Federal Cabinet. Meanwhile, Dr. Tupper had aided Sir John Macdonald in the formation of the first Cabinet of the Dominion; had helped to cut a Gordian knot of Provincial rivalry in its construction which threatened at one time to wreck the whole arrangement; had voluntarily declined a place

in the Cabinet and had persuaded D'Arcy McGee, the eloquent Irish-Canadian, to join him in this signal action of political renunciation. Otherwise, George Brown might have been the first Prime Minister of the Dominion, and the whole course of its political and natural history altered.

In 1870, when Sir Edward Kenny became administrator of Nova Scotia, Dr. Tupper entered the Cabinet as President of the Privy Council, and two years afterwards became Minister of Inland Revenue. In February, 1873, he was appointed Minister of Customs, and occupied this position until the retirement of the Government in November of that year. During the general elections in 1874 he was once more returned for Cumberland County—and again in 1878 and 1882—although the party was in a minority in the Province and so remained until the great Protectionist landslide of four years later. He had taken a strong interest in the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway during the Sessions of 1872-3 and in the debates which followed in the Liberal Parliament of 1874-8; while in the first Macdonald Ministry he had initiated and carried the Weights and Measures Act and a law prohibiting the importation and sale of liquors in the Northwest Territories. During the ensuing five years of Opposition he practised his profession with a large degree of success in Ottawa and Toronto, and also joined Sir John Macdonald in making the latter place a national centre of political activity. Both leaders resided in Toronto, and one result was the formation of the United Empire Club—a somewhat noted party and social organization of the time. In 1878, the National Policy, or "N. P.," an embodiment of the protective principle, swept the country for Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative party. Mr. Mackenzie retired from office, and the new Ministry was formed on October 17, 1878, with Dr. Tupper as Minister of Public Works and in practical charge of the railway policy of the Government. In May, 1879, his Department was divided and he became the first Dominion Minister of Railways and Canals, and at the same time was created a K. C. M. G. by the Queen. In 1867 he had been made a C. B. for services in the creation of the Confederation.

During the years which followed, and up to 1884, his name is associated with the inception, construction and Parliamentary and popular defence of the Canadian Pacific Railway. They were years of strenuous struggle with a strong Opposition, led in the House and the country by Edward Blake, Sir Richard Cartwright and Wilfrid Laurier. The two former were then giants in debate—the one polished, incisive and a master of language, the other keen and cutting as a rapier, sarcastic and brilliant in oratorical style. But with Sir John Macdonald in popular, pleasant, witty defence of the general policy of the Government, Sir Leonard Tilley in his quiet, melodious, fluent and skilled explanation of its fiscal policy, and Sir Charles Tupper in slashing, vigorous, and sometimes fiercely vehement, cut and thrust defence of its railway policy and party position, the Government was well able to hold its own. In 1881 Sir Charles introduced and carried through the House an Act approving the contract made in London and granting a charter to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the construction of the highway to the Pacific which had been promised the Province of British Columbia in 1871, when it entered the Dominion. The debate on the subject was one of the most important in the political history of Canada, and the Minister of Railways was naturally its central figure. Something had already been done under the policy of Government construction pursued by the Mackenzie Ministry and its successor, and these portions of the road were now handed over to the Company. The battle which followed and, indeed, prevailed for several years, was a keen one, and Sir Charles Tupper had his hands full in defending what the Opposition described as an extravagant and almost impossible enterprise—one which was to be carried through a wilderness and over vast mountain ranges where it was urged that the traffic could not meet the ordinary expenses of management, to say nothing of construction and indebtedness to the Government. Difficulties, however, were overcome, and the impossible achieved. The continental railway was completed by 1886, and Montreal connected with Vancouver five years before the date required by contract, and in the teeth of the pessimistic fears which surrounded an enterprise described in its days of ultimate success by the London *Times* as the greatest undertaking ever attempted by a nation of five millions of

people. The Company had conquered engineering and financial obstacles; Sir Charles Tupper had overpowered political opposition; the people had risen above the fetters of Provincial fear and a certain form of Colonial narrowness which still prevailed.

In 1883, a new phase of public activity came into the life of Sir Charles and he passed for a time from the struggles and successes of the smaller stage of Canada to the wider sphere offered at the seat of Empire to the representative of a great colony. More fortunate than his old-time and brilliant rival in Nova Scotia, he had grasped the national idea for Canada and had passed from a Provincial to a Dominion career without being trammelled by so fatal an error as the previous advocacy of secession, or affected by a late repentance, which in its result of local and personal unpopularity, had broken the spirit of Howe as no intensity of political conflict or party defeat could have done. But, in becoming the High Commissioner of Canada in London, in 1883, Sir Charles Tupper did not at once abandon Canadian politics. He remained for a year in charge of his Department and took the ground then, as he did afterwards, that the representative in London of Canadian interests was not and could not be an ambassador. He was in fact, though not in form, a member of the Canadian Government residing in London—familiar with its plans, in sympathy with its projects, in touch with its policy. As such he was dependent upon his party's retention of power, and it was therefore not antagonistic to the nature of his duties, but rather in necessary relation to them, that he should remain in touch with and re-assume when deemed desirable, his political duties at home.

From 1884, however, to January, 1887, he found the burden of his Imperial position sufficient without the addition of any Canadian home work. But at the latter date, with a general election imminent, and at the request of Sir John Macdonald, he resigned his position, joined the Cabinet again as Minister of Finance, and plunged into the congenial fray as a fighting defender of Protection and of the railway policy of the Government. Until May, 1888, he held his place in the Ministry and then resigned to go again to London. During this year he was chiefly responsible before the House and the

country for the inauguration of a policy of protection to iron and steel industries, and the passage of a Customs Act to that end. In the midst of these duties he found time to accept the honour of appointment as one of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries to Washington in connection with the Fisheries dispute, and, with Mr. Chamberlain and Sir L. S. Sackville-West, was instrumental in negotiating a Treaty approved by President Cleveland and his Administration, but rejected by the United States Senate. He had, meanwhile, returned to Ottawa and carried a Bill, ratifying the Treaty, through the Canadian Parliament. For his Imperial services in these negotiations Sir Charles Tupper was created, in September, 1888, a Baronet of the United Kingdom. Two years previously he had been made a G. C. M. G.

Upon his return to London Sir Charles took up again the threads of a work which he had previously been making of much importance to Canadian interests. In 1885, he had been the Executive Commissioner for Canada at the Antwerp Exhibition, and in 1886 had acted in a similar capacity at the first signal illustration of the new Imperial spirit and development—the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. At the latter he was also a Royal British Commissioner, and in both cases had acted with characteristic energy and devotion to the end of making Canada better known; an object which was then the chief function of the High Commissioner. At about this time, and for several following years, he also did a great service to Dominion agricultural interests in preventing the suspicion of American cattle (in connection with the popular dread of pleuro-pneumonia) from being visited upon Canadian cattle by their inclusion in the embargo against importation alive. In 1888, he arranged the placing of a loan of £4,000,000 upon the market at three per cent. interest, and, despite the fact that this was the first Colonial loan ever issued at that rate, he obtained tenders aggregating £12,000,000. The allotment was finally made at £95.1 per cent. During these years the growing importance of his office was recognized, and the value of his work enhanced, by appointment as a Royal Commissioner in connection with the Scotch Crofter Colonization project, and as a Royal Commissioner for organizing the Imperial Institute,

THE HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER

and as Canadian representative at the Sub-Marine Cable Conference in Paris, at the International Customs Conference in Brussels, and at the International Postal Union Conference in Vienna.

In 1891, Sir Charles Tupper came out again to Canada at the request of Sir John Macdonald, took an active part in the general elections of that year —the fiercest and perhaps the most important in Canadian history—and held Nova Scotia for his party. After the successful termination of the struggle he returned again to London and was, of course, strongly criticized in the Canadian Parliament for participating in the contest while holding the High Commissionership. His defence was that the Unrestricted Reciprocity issue made the elections turn upon a proposal which would have involved Imperial connection and the national future of Canada, and that he was therefore bound to do his best for the Crown and the Empire. Naturally, these reasons did not commend themselves to the Opposition either then or since. Upon Sir John Macdonald's death, which soon followed, Sir Charles was regarded as his legitimate and natural successor in the Premiership and Conservative leadership; but he was in Vienna and made no sign, and party exigencies brought Sir John Abbott to the front and later Sir John Thompson and Sir Mackenzie Bowell. Meanwhile, the High Commissioner went on with his work in England, delivered innumerable addresses upon Canadian matters, wrote many strong and valuable papers upon Imperial or Dominion affairs, took part in the growing advocacy of closer Imperial unity and the proceedings of the Imperial Federation League, negotiated in conjunction with Lord Dufferin the Franco-Canadian Commercial Treaty of 1893, and attended the International Railway Conference of 1895 as the Canadian delegate. He also secured from the Imperial Government an annual subsidy of $225,000 for the Canadian Steamship Line from Vancouver to China and Japan, and the promise of $375,000 a year for a fast Atlantic line.

The year 1895 saw him again in Canada with a view to furthering the fast Atlantic Steamship project, and it also witnessed his sudden and dramatic plunge into the vortex of a somewhat unpleasant political situation. Troubles were rife regarding the Manitoba School question, parties were in a state of universal disquiet, and the Government of Sir Mackenzie Bowell was

the victim of much difference of opinion as to the proper policy to be pursued. The decision of the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council, declaring that the Roman Catholic minority had the right to appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council in connection with the Provincial abolition of their Separate Schools, had made the issue a Dominion one, which the Government thought should be settled by remedial legislation in the Dominion Parliament. There was disagreement, however, as to the principle and as to details, and finally Sir Charles Tupper resigned his High Commissionership and joined the Ministry in January, 1896, as Secretary of State, for the purpose of strengthening its hands and saving the party, if possible, from disintegration and defeat. With characteristic energy he took the leadership of the House of Commons, and, if determination and vigour could have won, he would have saved the situation. But the approaching demise of Parliament by efflux of time made legislation impossible under existing political conditions, and at the end of the session Sir Mackenzie Bowell resigned and Sir Charles Tupper was called upon to take the Premiership and form a new Ministry, which he did on May 1, 1896, as follows:

Premier and Secretary of State	Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries	Hon. John Costigan.
Minister of Finance	Hon. G. E. Foster.
Minister of Railways and Canals	Hon. J. G. Haggart.
Minister of Trade and Commerce	Hon. W. B. Ives.
Minister of Justice	Hon. A. R. Dickey.
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. W. H. Montague.
President of the Council	Hon. A. R. Angers.
Minister of Public Works	Hon. A. Desjardines.
Minister of the Interior	Hon. H. J. Macdonald.
Postmaster-General	Hon. L. Taillon.
Minister of Militia and Defence	Hon. D. Tisdale.
Comptroller of Customs	Hon. J. F. Wood.
Comptroller of Inland Revenues	Hon. E. G. Prior.
Without Portfolio	Sir Frank Smith.
Without Portfolio	Hon. D. Ferguson.
Without Portfolio	Hon. J. J. Ross.
Solicitor-General without a seat in Cabinet	Sir C. H. Tupper.

He had practically assumed responsibility four months earlier for a defined policy regarding the Manitoba Schools—a policy originally taken up by the party leaders when he was in England—and this he now proceeded to

carry out. Legislation was introduced into the House of Commons along the line of compelling the restoration of their educational rights to the Catholic minority of Manitoba. But with all the large normal majority possessed by the Conservatives in the House it could not be carried in view of the obstruction resorted to by opponents. General elections followed, Sir Charles Tupper was beaten at the polls (especially in the Province of Quebec), and after a serious dispute with the Governor-General over certain appointments to office, he resigned on July 8, 1896, and was succeeded by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal party. During the elections his platform, as announced in an address to the people of Canada, included continued protection to Canadian industries, preferential trade with Great Britain, the strengthening of the national defences, the promotion of a fast Atlantic Steamship service, the admission of Newfoundland to the Confederation and the encouragement of judicious immigration. At the meeting of the new Parliament in August he was re-elected leader of the Conservative party and has since then fought the Government with never-failing energy of voice and agitation, and has exhibited a degree of mental and physical vigour which has been the envy of his friends and the admiration of his enemies.

Sir Charles Tupper, during his long career, has had many public honours. He has been Premier of his native Province and of the Federated Dominion. He has represented his country at the heart of the Empire, and both the Dominion and the Empire on important missions abroad. He has had many honorary degrees from Home Universities, and has been made an LL. D. of Cambridge and Edinburgh in the Old Land. He is an Hon. Fellow of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, and is, or has been, a member of the governing bodies of the Imperial Institute, the Royal Colonial Institute, the Imperial Federation League and the British Empire League. He has been at the head of his profession in Canada, and was for years President of the Canadian Medical Association. The Crown has given him many of its highest honours and in doing so has endorsed the people's approval of a career which, with inevitable imperfections and mistakes, has been a great and valuable one. Personally, Sir Charles has always been accessible, courteous in manner and kind in disposition. His memory is

remarkable, whether for faces, facts, figures, similies, illustrations or history. His industry has been indefatigable, his energy exhaustless, his oratory powerful, his physical endurance marvellous.

In an old age which shows infinite variety of resource and tenacity of purpose his political enemies are fond of describing his two faults as being those of a proneness to speak of the past of Canada and his share in its history and a lack of that power of conciliating opponents and holding friends which Sir John Macdonald possessed in so wonderful a degree. A word may be said here upon these points. In the first place it is a good thing in a young, aggressive and democratic community, looking ever to th future and forgetful of the experience of its fathers, to have some reminder o what has gone before and of the men who have made the country what it is. And who is there in Canada that has described this history so effectively, so vigorously, and from the standpoint of a living and still fighting leader, so accurately, as Sir Charles Tupper? It is not the least of his services to the country that he has in the last few years taught young Canada something of the men and events connected with the establishment of the Dominion. As to the absence of political conciliation, much has been alleged by political opponents, and it has been claimed that a little more of that quality might have prevented the opposition to Confederation in Nova Scotia coming to so bitter a head and might have helped the party at Ottawa in passing the Manitoba Remedial Bill. On the other hand there is the known record of the clever manner in which Dr. Tupper broke up the Liberal party in his own Province in the early fifties, of his effective and conciliatory policy toward Howe in 1868, of his magnanimity in connection with the formation of the first Dominion Cabinet, and of his able diplomacy in the Atlantic Fisheries Treaty and other cases. Taken altogether Sir Charles Tupper was, and is, a good illustration in energy, mental and physical power, eloquence, experience and probity of character of the best elements in Canadian public life during its formative stages, its constructive period and its national present.

NATURAL STEPS, MONTMORENCI, NEAR QUEBEC

CHAPTER XXX.

SIR JOSEPH HICKSON.

By J. Castell Hopkins.

Sir Joseph Hickson a Native of England—Trained on the English Railway Systems—Assistant General-Manager on the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway—Appointed Chief Accountant of the Grand Trunk Railway—Arrives in Canada in 1862—Becomes Secretary and Treasurer of the Grand Trunk Railway—On the Resignation of Mr. C. J. Brydges made Managing Director—Appointed General-Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1874—Greatly Improves the System—In 1890 Knighted for His Good Work—Extends the Grand Trunk System to Chicago—St. Clair Tunnel Constructed—His Services Appreciated by the Company—Takes an Interest in the Civic Life of Montreal—President of the Royal Commission on the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic—Holds Aloof from all Political Parties—Dies in January, 1897.

SIR JOSEPH HICKSON, late President of the Grand Trunk Railway, was born at Otterburn, Northumberland, England, in the year 1830, and received his education in his native county. He was yet a lad when he entered the service of the North Eastern Railway of England, in which he gained his first knowledge of railway operations—destined to stand him in such good stead in after years. After being some time with this Company, he left to fill a position of trust on the Maryport and Carlisle Railway, in which he served with credit till 1851, when he went to Manchester and took service with the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway, in which his promotion was very rapid. Ten years afterwards he became assistant to the General Manager of the Road, and while in this position attracted the attention of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Watkin, then Commissioner, and afterwards Chairman of the Grand Trunk Railway in Canada. Mr. Watkin was even at that time one of the railway magnates of the day. Mr. Hickson was by him appointed to the important position of chief accountant of the Grand Trunk in December, 1861, and accordingly left England for Canada in January, 1862, coming to Montreal, where he continued to reside until his

death. His career from that date was one of uninterrupted personal success. He soon became secretary and treasurer of the Company, and this position he filled until the resignation of Mr. C. J. Brydges as Managing Director of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1874, when he succeeded him in the post of General Manager of the system.

In his new position Mr. Hickson found himself restricted by external control, but within the limitations of his power he speedily made his policy felt. One of his first acts was to sell to the Federal Government the line between Point Levis and Rivière du Loup, and with the proceeds of this he changed the old gauge to that of the American lines—four feet eight and a half inches—and effected the connection between Sarnia and Chicago. This was considered a good stroke of policy at the time, because it opened up a new field of effort and enterprise to the Company and marked the beginning of that policy of affiliation and connection which resulted, before Sir Joseph Hickson threw down the reins of office, in an immense system, embracing five thousand miles of track in the United States and Canada. As General Manager he continued until 1890, when he retired from the arduous position after receiving early in that year the honour of knighthood at the hands of Her Majesty in recognition of the ability he had displayed in the management of a great Canadian railway, and for the valuable services he had rendered to this country in the way of developing its industries and resources.

During the period of Sir Joseph Hickson's management, the Grand Trunk Railway made rapid strides, forming connections that were of infinite value, not only to the Company itself, but to Canada at large. The most marked of these was the establishment of a direct line to Chicago wholly under Grand Trunk control. By this master-stroke of policy, the best paying portion of freight carried by the Grand Trunk Railway was secured, at the same time giving to Canadian steamship companies some of the most valuable freight which they carry across the Atlantic. This extension to Chicago, on which the astute manager had had his eye for years, gave to the Grand Trunk a direct interest in the American system of railways. Under his charge, the mileage of the Grand Trunk system increased from 1,383 miles to 3,487, which fact speaks volumes for the enterprising spirit of its manager. That

great engineering undertaking, the St. Clair tunnel, owes much to Sir Joseph Hickson. There were many obstacles in the way of this latter undertaking, enough to daunt any ordinary man, but Sir Joseph, who had already discerned the great advantages which would arise from the rapid transit of the St. Clair River, cared but little for obstacles. They were made, he thought, for the purpose of being surmounted, and surmount them he did. The tunnel was completed in 1890 at a cost of three million dollars.

When in 1881, Sir Joseph Hickson paid a visit to England, the Company presented him with a service of gold and silver plate, to the value of £2,500, as a token of the esteem in which his services were held by the shareholders. He was a Justice of the Peace for Montreal, and was interested in several banking, manufacturing and industrial enterprises, being a Director of some of them. He was appointed by the Dominion Government President of the Royal Commission on the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. Sir Joseph Hickson never identified himself with any political party, the good of the country at large and his own business being all he cared for. As a prominent citizen of Montreal, and one who took an unostentatious part in everything that has tended for the advancement of the city and the citizens, his loss was greatly felt when death came in January, 1897.

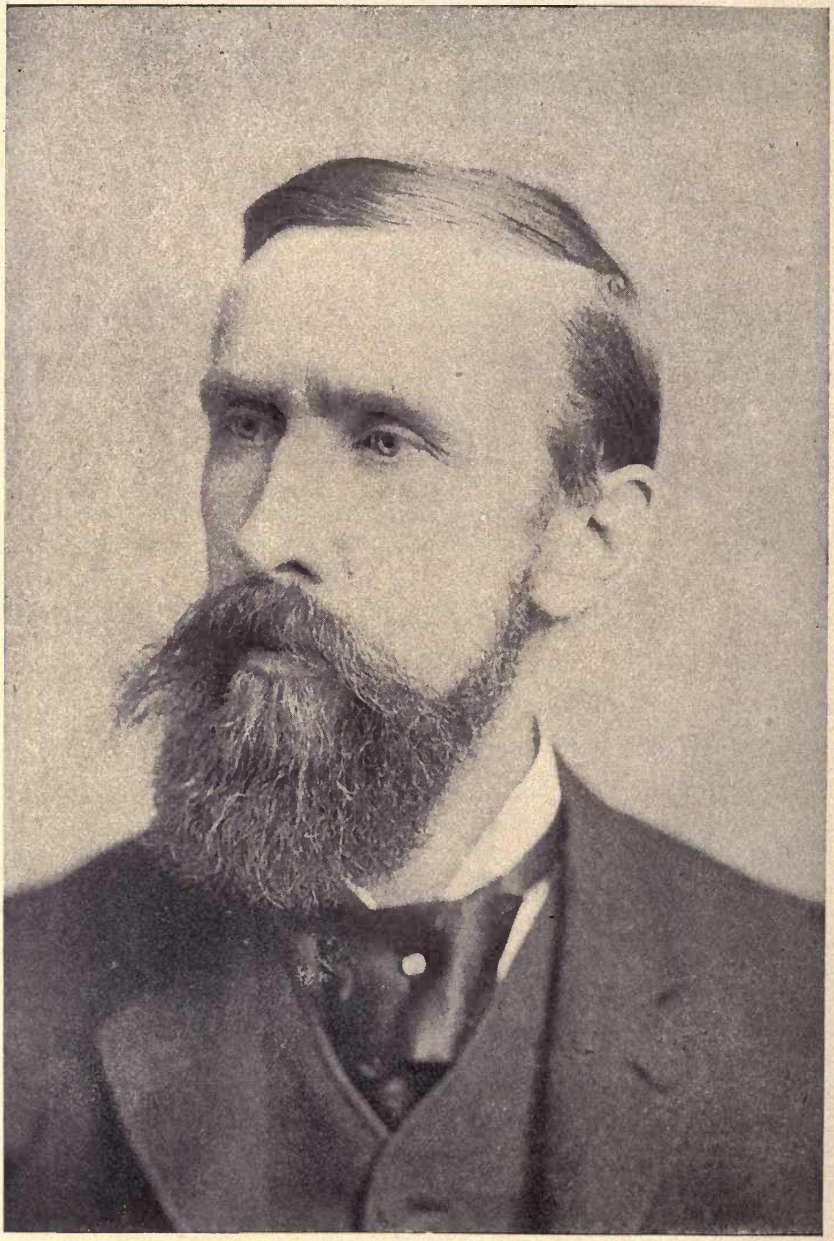
CHAPTER XXXI.

SIR JOHN C. SCHULTZ.

By J. Castell Hopkins.

Sir John Schultz a Native of Ontario—Of Scandinavian Descent—A Clerk in a Country Store—Begins the Study of Medicine—Graduates from Queen's University in 1862—Settles in Red River Settlement—His Life in the West—A Close Student of the Canadian North-West—Begins Newspaper Work—Gains the Enmity of the Hudson's Bay Company—Instrumental in Bringing about the Purchase of the Territory—Imprisoned by Riel's Orders in 1869—A Thrilling Escape from Prison—Journeys to Canada—Rouses the Canadians against Riel—Returns to Winnipeg on the Suppression of the Rebellion—Elected to the Canadian Parliament for Lisgar—A Successful Speculator in Land—His Health Undermined—An Energetic Member of the Senate—Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba—Given the Title of K. C. M. G. by Her Majesty—Dies at Monterey, Mexico, April, 1896.

The Hon. Sir John Christian Schultz, K. C. M. G., M. D., was born in Amherstburg, Essex County, Ontario, in the year 1841. His father was of Scandinavian descent; his mother of Irish extraction. His early days gave no promise of the powerful physique and remarkable endurance developed at a later period. At school he was, in fact, rather delicate in health. He learned easily and was what Whittier describes as a "silent, shy, peace-loving" lad, who gave little sign of the self-reliance and extraordinary will which after years developed. His early education was received in part at the hands of a retired soldier. After a few years spent behind the counter of a country store, kept by his half-brother, Henry McKenney, afterwards Sheriff of Red River, young Schultz set out to qualify himself for the medical profession. In various ways he learned enough to attend Oberlin College in Ohio, for a time, and afterwards Queen's University, Kingston, graduating from the latter as an M.D. in 1862. With as little delay as possible he started for the Red River Settlement and for some years was lost sight of, except by the few with whom he corresponded. There he toiled, making out of Red River trees the planks with which he and his brother built their first



THE HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER

house; trading for furs with the Indians and Half-breeds; living often on pemmican or such fish and game as could be procured; and visiting his patients on snow-shoes—often taking his pay in furs or buffalo-skins. Occasionally he took a trip to Montreal to sell his furs and buy supplies.

Observant and studious, he informed himself of the fauna and flora, the soil and climate, the attractions and capacities of the great lone land so soon to become known to the world as the Canadian North-West. He perceived the value of the region for grain-growing and cattle-grazing, and lost no opportunity of sounding its praises in the ears of listeners, then none too willing, in Canadian cities. Having purchased the press and types of the *Nor'-Wester*, established by Ross and Buckingham, he also varied his occupations by writing items and articles for the little monthly sheet which was the precursor of the Winnipeg dailies of to-day. Loyal to what he deemed the best interests of the great territory which had so long been used for trading purposes by the then all-powerful Hudson's Bay Company, Schultz made himself obnoxious to the authorities of that great corporation. At their instance he was on one occasion, in 1868, consigned to prison as "a dangerous person," only to be released by an excited crowd of the inhabitants who battered in the jail walls and broke open its door. Out of this and other movements came the Canadian policy of acquiring the territory, the scheme for its purchase, and the first Riel Rebellion. In all these affairs Dr. Schultz took a most prominent part and was the acknowledged leader of the loyal element in the Colony—the British Canadian sympathisers.

On December 7, 1869, Schultz, with some forty-six other Canadians, was made prisoner, and the Doctor placed in solitary confinement by Riel's orders. For many weary weeks he was kept in a room without a fire, sleeping upon the floor with a single buffalo-skin for covering, watched by an armed guard and refused the sight of his invalid wife, for whom he prescribed from within his prison walls. But one night the guards were induced to watch outside instead of inside the prison door, when the doughty prisoner, whose only tools were a penknife and a gimblet, made an opening through the window fastenings and squeezed his body through, but in the attempt to let himself down the wall his strips of buffalo-skin gave way and

he fell twenty feet, injuring his thigh. Lamed as he was he had still to scale the wall outside, from whose top he threw himself into a friendly snow-drift. Then with painful steps he walked some miles, and by daybreak reached the house of a friendly settler, where he lay concealed, though sought after by Riel's emissaries far and near. After tremendous difficulty and a phenomenal journey of hundreds of miles through snow and ice and wilderness, he reached Canada and passed through Windsor, London, Toronto, Kingston and Montreal. At all these points and many others his reception was most stirring, for the people had learned by then of the indignities their countrymen had suffered as prisoners of the insurgents. For this intrepid stand in defence of the interests of Canada, Dr. Schultz was presented in various towns with addresses, a gold watch, a gold chain, a rifle and other gifts. Indignation meetings were held, and at the one at Toronto, on April 6, when Dr. Schultz, Charles Mair, Dr. Lynch and Mr. Setter were present—all refugees from Riel's violence—the Government was called upon to take action. Dr. Schultz returned to Winnipeg on the suppression of the Rebellion, and in the following year was elected as member for Lisgar in the Parliament of Canada, continuing to represent that constituency, with a short interval, until 1883, when he was appointed a senator of the Dominion.

Diligence in business had meantime brought him considerable wealth. He had been a successful trader, and had acquired land in Winnipeg and other parts of the country which rose enormously in value during the "boom." He had also been prominent in organizing the North-West Trading Co., the South Western Railway Co., the Great North Western Telegraph Co., and other enterprises in the Province. But his unstinted labours, carelessness of his health, and above all, the injuries and exposures suffered during his imprisonment and escape, had undermined his health, and for some years before his death he was an invalid.

In the senate, during several years, Dr. Schultz was indefatigable in pushing every matter in which his Province was concerned, though he never took action in a direction not beneficial to that unity of the Dominion and the Empire which he so greatly cherished. He was Chairman of a Senate Committee on North-West matters, in which his extensive knowledge of the

country proved most valuable. It was a cause of general approval when the Government on Dominion Day, 1888, appointed Senator Schultz Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba. The honour was indeed a fitting one. He continued in office until 1895, when he was succeeded by the Hon. J. C. Patterson. In the birthday honours of 1894 he was given the title of K.C.M G. by Her Majesty the Queen as a fitting recognition of his services to Canada and the Empire. He died in April, 1896, at Monterey, Mexico, whither he had gone with his devoted wife for the benefit of his health.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LORD STRATHCONA.

The Rise of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal—Born at Forres, Scotland—Educated at Forres—His Uncle, John Stewart, a Great Fur-Trader—Donald Smith begins the Study of Law—Accepts a Junior Clerkship in the Hudson's Bay Company—Reaches Canada at the Time of the War of 1837—Sir George Simpson Governor of the Northern Department of the Company—Sends Donald Smith to the Labrador Department—The Hard and Comfortless Journey—His Life at His New Post—Promotion After Many Years of Hardships—The Rebellion of 1870 Tests Mr. Smith's Character—Appointed Commissioner to the North-West from the Dominion Government—His Commission—A Dangerous Mission—His Report to the Secretary of State—Mr. Smith's Work in Putting Down the Rebellion—Appointed Temporary Lieutenant-Governor of the Territory—Elected to the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba—Elected to the Dominion Parliament for Selkirk—His Interest in the Canadian Pacific Railway—Deserts the Conservative Party—Out of Sympathy with the Mackenzie Railway Policy—Returns to the Conservative Party—The Canadian Pacific Railway Completed—His Generous Gifts to Montreal—Knighted—Elected to Parliament for Montreal West—His Interest in the Manitoba School Question—Appointed High Commissioner for Canada—Made a Peer of the Realm—In the House of Lords—The Strathcona's Horse—A Great Empire Builder.

THE career of Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, gives a good illustration of the possibilities a new country affords for a man of ability, enterprise and dogged determination. His rise to influence and wealth, when it began, was rapid and kept pace with the country's prosperity; indeed, the two worked together. Donald Smith more than any other man of business insight made Canada what she is to-day, and Canada has abundantly rewarded him for his enterprise on her behalf; and what he has received he gives back in no stinted measure, but with a generosity and wisdom without a parallel among English philanthropists.

Lord Strathcona was born August 6, 1820, at the little town of Forres, in Scotland, the town near which Macbeth met the witches on the "blasted heath." His mother was Barbara Stewart, a woman of more than ordinary

BATTLE OF CUT KNIFE HILL, NORTHWEST REBELLION OF 1885

intelligence and ambition for her children. She was familiar with the conditions of life in Canada as her brother, John Stewart, a fur-trader of renown, was one of the most striking figures in the West during the early years of the nineteenth century. He had travelled to the Pacific with Simon Fraser, the discoverer of the Fraser River, and knew thoroughly the far West and the conditions there. He was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company and held the position of Chief Factor at Lesser Slave Lake. His sister, like the great majority of Scotch mothers, was anxious that her boy should enter one of the learned professions, but she could not refrain from sounding the praises of her brave and adventurous brother. Young Smith drank in the stories of mountain and plain, of the adventures of the fur-traders on rushing rivers and with Indian tribes, and the wonders of the West took possession of his young imagination.

He was sent to school at an early age in the town of Forres and received a fair education. He early had his mind directed towards the law, and when his education was considered sufficiently advanced he began his legal studies in the office of Mr. Robert Watson, the town clerk of his native place. He was, however, to have but a short experience of the law, for his illustrious uncle, the fur-trader, found time to pay a visit to Scotland and the whole course of Donald Smith's life was changed.

His uncle, accustomed to the freedom of the great West, no doubt had a feeling of pity for his sturdy young nephew who was spending his youthful years digging into musty tomes in a narrow law office. He knew the opportunities a young man with a vigorous constitution and intelligence had in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, and so worked on his nephew that all Donald Smith's thoughts were soon directed to America. His uncle had influence and offered him a junior clerkship in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Donald Smith was then but eighteen years old and with the ardour of youth made preparations for his new life in the West, which was to the minds of Europeans in the early part of the nineteenth century what darkest Africa is to-day,—a region where hardships must be endured and where prizes are won by the few but when won prove well worth the seeking.

The uncle and nephew sailed for Canada in 1838 and after a stormy passage of nearly fifty days arrived at Montreal. They reached Canada at a critical moment. The fiery agitation of William Lyon Mackenzie and Papineau had caused rebellion to break out, and in both Upper and Lower Canada the sword had been drawn. It was found necessary to proclaim martial law in the country, and what is now known as the Province of Quebec was in the hands of the soldiers. This was not a very promising outlook, but it did not effect Donald Smith seriously as he had come to the country to serve, not under the Canadian government, but under that entirely distinct institution, the Hudson's Bay Company.

The governor of this celebrated Company was, at this time, George Simpson, who was to be knighted in 1841 for his excellent work done in the interests of science and discovery in British North America. He ruled those under him as an absolute monarch might rule, and was indeed known as the "King of the Fur-Traders" and the "Emperor of the Plains." Although a stern disciplinarian, he had ever at heart his duty towards the Company and the Empire. Like Donald Smith, he was a Scotchman, and had served a hard apprenticeship in the wilds of the West, and knew what those under him had to endure and their needs. He did probably more than any other man to give the world a knowledge of the northern part of this continent. He aided Franklin, Richardson, Ross, Back and others in their explorations, and sent out and befriended many other explorers, such as Dease, Thomas Simpson, Rae, Anderson and Stewart. Under him the Hudson's Bay Company prospered, but it did so only through his close application to its interests. When young Smith arrived in Canada he was residing at Lachine sending forth men to look after the interests of the Company in the wide district from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains. Donald Smith, no doubt, desired to be sent up the Ottawa and along the great waterways to the West of which he had heard so much from his uncle; but it was not to be. Governor Simpson needed a youth of his stamp in the difficult region of the Labrador, and so it was decided to send him to that bleak and desolate region—a region which had appeared to Jacques Cartier as the land alloted

to Cain. It had lost none of its bleakness, and when young Smith made ready for his long trip to his post he must have felt as if he were going to the end of the world.

The hardships of his journey to his new home were as nothing to the hardships he was forced to endure in that desolate region of the far North of Canada. The Factor in the Labrador Department was a Scotchman like himself, and gave him a warm welcome and listened with delight to the news from the old land and from Canada, from which places he had not heard for many months. Young Smith made the best of his new sphere of activity. He had taken to heart Touchstone's immortal words, "travellers must be content"; and when not busy with official duties filled in the time canoeing, boating, fishing and shooting; storing up a strength that was, despite the hardships he endured, to make him mentally and physically one of the strongest men of his time.

He had a warm affection for Forres, and often unburdened his heart by writing long letters to his mother—letters that showed considerable literary power. These letters could only be forwarded at long intervals. It was over one thousand miles of dreary road from his post to Quebec. On several occasions he made this distance on foot and in a dog-sled. It is little wonder that the man who could do this saw in the Rocky Mountains no insurmountable obstacles when the Canadian Pacific Railway took shape in his brain.

On many occasions his duties called him to remote and dangerous regions. He several times narrowly escaped death from exposure, but, canny Scot as he was, he always carried with him a sufficient supply of furs to protect him from the fiercest winter storms. He thoroughly adapted himself to his environment and position, and was quite capable of ministering to the spiritual and physical needs of the Indians and Esquimos, and sometimes when the employees of the Company married Esquimo women he officiated at the marriage ceremony.

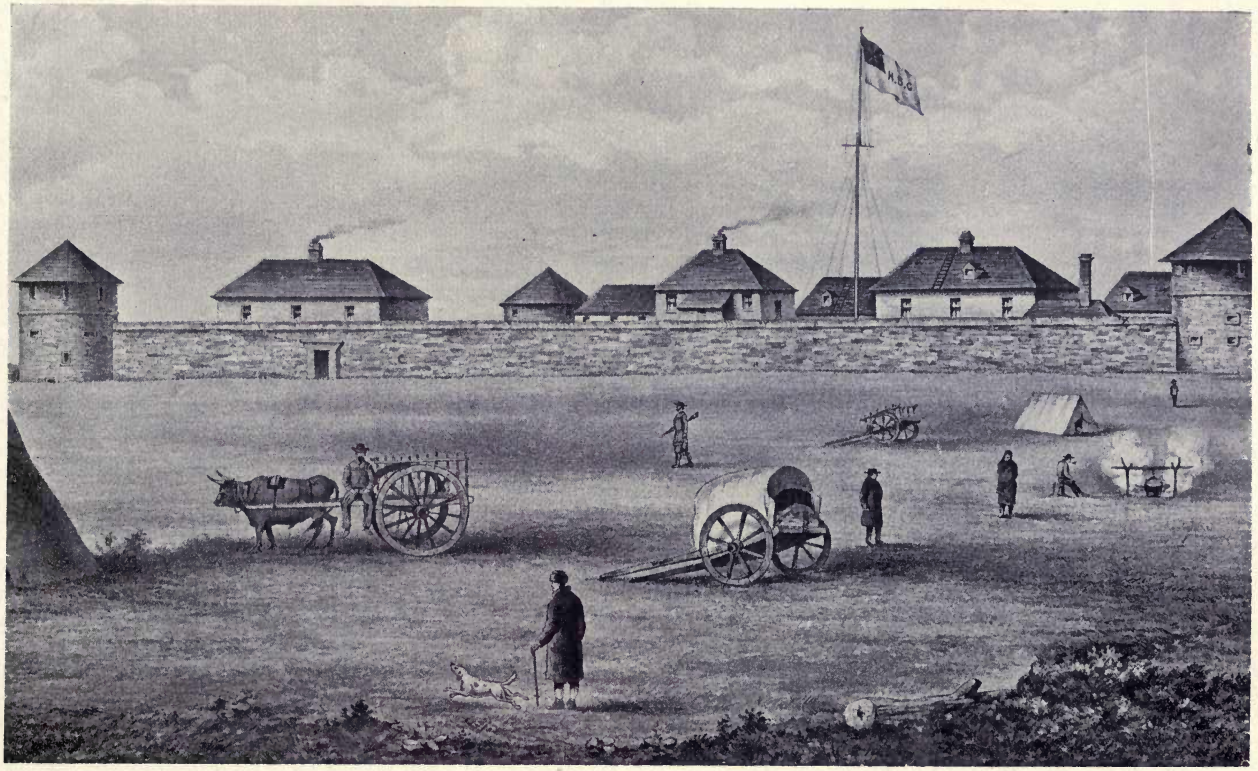
The hardships he had undergone affected his sight and he was attacked by color blindness. He was afraid of becoming totally blind and determined to consult an oculist. To do this he would have to journey to Montreal.

According to the rules of the Company he should first have obtained leave of absence, but as he felt his need an urgent one he determined to journey to Montreal without permission. Before he reached the city he was met by Sir George Simpson, who at once enquired who gave him leave of absence, and ordered him back to his post. Donald Smith felt very much like quitting the service of the company on the spot, but had he done so all the hard years he had put in would practically have been wasted, and so he journeyed back to Ungava over the weary road. On the trip back to Labrador the two half-breed guides who accompanied him died from exposure, and he himself narrowly escaped with his life.

For thirteen long years he toiled in this dreary region, but at length promotion came and he was given the chief-tradership. In 1868 he was made chief executive officer of the Company in North America, and was to be stationed in Montreal.

Mr. Smith was scarcely installed in his new office before he was to receive a severe test. In the Red River Settlement there was much discontent, and malcontents were endeavoring to have the great North-West severed from the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. Mr. Smith early saw that there was trouble ahead. He knew that the Dominion Government intended to have Rupert's Land transferred to Canada, and he knew likewise that many of the employees of the company and the inhabitants of the West were opposed to such a course. There was much division of opinion as to what should be done with the West, and not a few desired annexation to the United States, while other ambitious ones hoped to see a republic established in the North-West.

In 1869 the Company surrendered their interests in the North-West to Canada for £300,000, one-twentieth of the fertile belt and forty-five thousand acres adjoining the trading posts of the Company. Mr. Macdougall, Minister of Public Works, had gone to England with M. Cartier to negotiate with the Company, and when the transfer was consummated he was appointed Governor of the newly-acquired territory. The people of the North-West did not understand the situation and were in a greatly excited condition. It was a time for the presence of a shrewd man, and Governor Macdougall was far



OLD FORT GARRY NEAR THE CITY OF WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

from being that. He attempted to ride rough-shod over their wishes and as a result was prevented from entering Rupert's Land. A rebellion broke out and Louis Riel led the rebel forces, and arrested and confined in Fort Garry all whom he considered his enemies, hoisting a new flag over the fort and assuming the title of President. Mr. Donald A. Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company saw how serious was the situation, and having confidence in his own strength determined, in the interests of the company, to journey to the Red River. Sir John Macdonald saw what a tangle Macdougall had made of affairs, and saw, too, that the only man likely to peacefully unravel it was Mr. Smith. He therefore determined to strengthen his hand in dealing with the inhabitants and appointed him a Commissioner from the Dominion Government.

His commission authorized him "to inquire into the causes, nature and extent of the obstruction offered at the Red River, in the North-West Territories, to the peaceable ingress of the Honorable William Macdougall and other parties authorized by our Governor-General of Canada to proceed into the same; and also to inquire into the causes and discontent and dissatisfaction alleged to exist in respect to the proposed union of the said North-West Territories with the Dominion of Canada; and further to explain to the inhabitants of the said country the principles on which the government of Canada intends to administer the government of the country according to such instructions as may be given to you by our Governor-in-Council in this behalf; and to take steps to remove any misapprehensions which may exist in respect to the mode of government of the same; and to report to our Governor-General the result of such inquiries and on the best mode of quieting and removing such discontent and dissatisfaction, and also to report on the most proper and fitting mode for effecting the speedy transfer of the country and government from the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company to the government of Canada with the general consent of the inhabitants.

"And further, to consider and report on the most advisable mode of dealing with the Indian tribes in the North-West Territories."

His mission was one that required shrewdness and courage. The people he was going amongst believed that they were being betrayed, and their leader, Riel, was a man of considerable intelligence, unscrupulous and cruel. On more than one occasion at Fort Garry, Donald Smith's life seemed in jeopardy, but he never flinched or showed signs of weakness, and in shrewdness proved himself more than a match for Riel. His work was eminently successful, and before he returned to Canada to report on the mission, he had caused so many of the supporters of Riel to lose confidence in their leader and desert him, that when the army under General Wolseley invaded the country to suppress the rebellion it found no insurgents in arms.

Mr. Smith's report of his mission to the Secretary of State, Hon. Joseph Howe, modestly, and with fulness of detail, shows the dangers he encountered and the thoroughness of his work:

"Leaving Ottawa on the 13th of December last, I reached St. Cloud, the terminus of railway communication, on the 17th, continuing on the same day by stage, and arriving at Abercrombie on the evening of the 19th. Here we had to abandon wheeled carriages, and procuring a sleigh, after a couple of hours' rest, we resumed the journey, and on the afternoon of the 21st met Hon. Mr. Macdougall and party about thirty miles beyond Georgetown. From him I learned how serious the aspect of affairs had latterly become at Red River, and pushing on, we got to Pembina about 11 p. m. of the 24th and to Fort Garry on the 27th.

"The gate of the fort we found open, but guarded by several armed men, who, on my desiring to be shown to Governor Mactavish's house, requested me to wait till they could communicate with their chief. In a short time Mr. Louis Riel appeared. I announced my name. He said he had heard of my arrival at Pembina, and was about to send off a party to bring me in. I then accompanied him to a room occupied by ten or a dozen men, whom he introduced to me as members of the 'provisional government.' He requested to know the purport of my visit, to which I replied in substance that I was connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, but also held a Commission from the Canadian government to the people of Red River, and would be prepared to

show my credentials as soon as they (the people) were willing to receive me. I was then asked to take oath not to attempt to leave the fort that night, nor to upset their government, legally established. This request I peremptorily refused to comply with, but said that, being very tired, I had no desire to go outside the gate that night, and promised to take no immediate steps forcibly to upset the so-called 'provisional government,' legal or illegal as it might be, without first announcing my intention to do so, Mr. Riel taking exception to the word 'illegal,' while I insisted on retaining it. Mr. O'Donoghue, to get over the difficulty remarked, 'That is as he (meaning myself) understands it,' to which I replied 'Precisely so.' The above explanation I am the more particular in giving as it has been reported that I at once acknowledged the 'provisional Government' to be legal. Neither then nor afterwards did I do so.

"I took up my quarters in one of the houses occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, and from that date till towards the end of February was virtually a prisoner within the fort, although with permission to go outside the walls for exercise accompanied by two armed guards, a privilege of which I never availed myself.

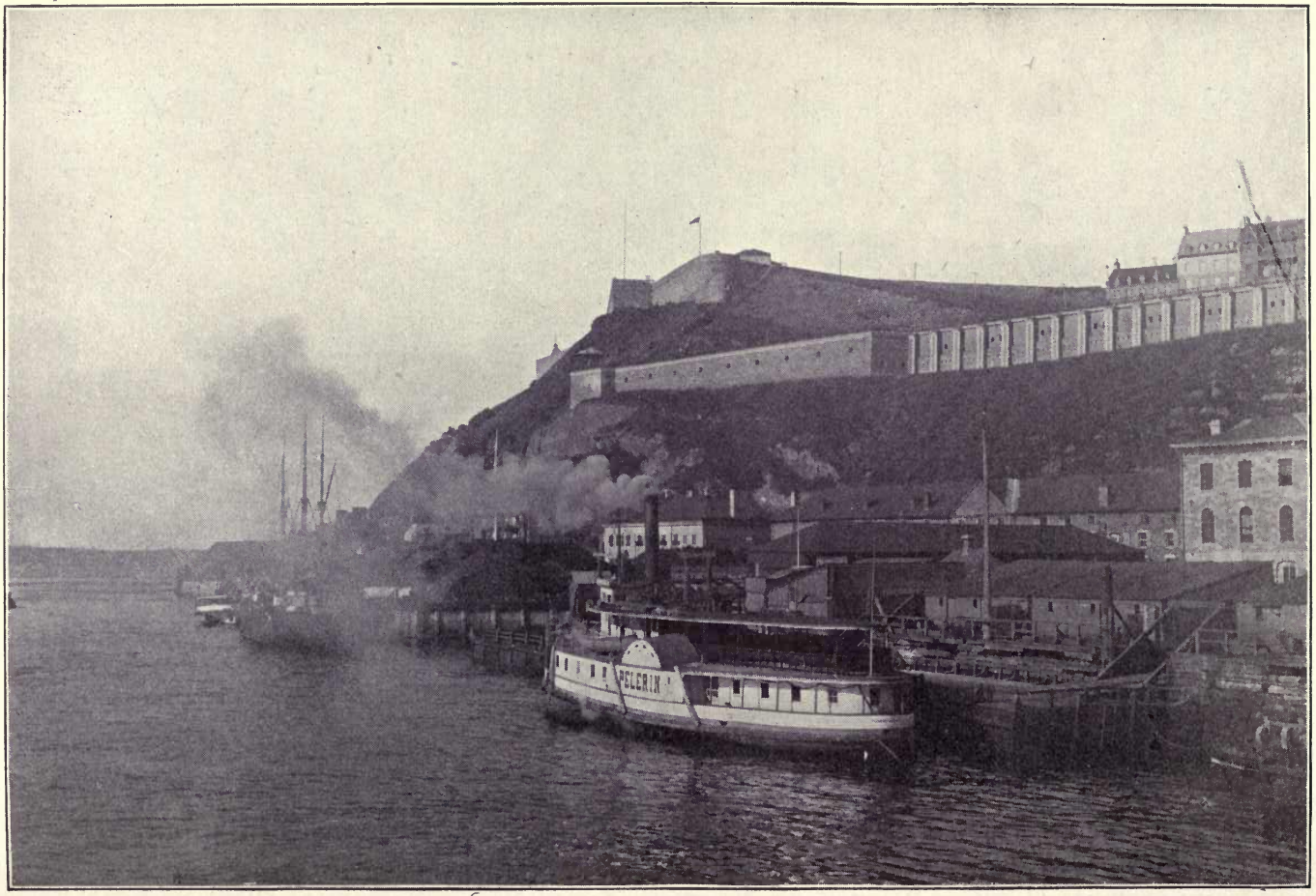
"All my official papers had been left in charge of Mr. Provencher at Pembina, as I had been warned that, if found in my possession, they would unquestionably be seized, as were those brought into the settlement shortly after by the Rev. M. Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry.

"The state of matters at this time in and around Fort Garry was most unsatisfactory and truly humiliating. Upwards of sixty British subjects were held in close confinement as 'political prisoners'; security for persons or property there was none; the fort with its large supplies of ammunition, provisions, and stores of all kinds, was in the possession of a few hundred French half-breeds, whose leaders had declared their determination to use every effort for the purpose of annexing the territory to the United States, and the Governor and Council of Assiniboia were powerless to enforce the law.

"On the 6th of January I saw Mr. Riel, and soon came to the conclusion that no good could arise from entering into any negotiations with his 'Council,' even were we to admit their authority, which I was not prepared

to do. We learned that on the 13th the Grand Vicar Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry appeared before the 'President and Council of the People,' when some explanations and compliments were exchanged, after which the very reverend gentleman and his associate were politely bowed out and lost sight of.

"Meantime, we had frequent visits in the fort from some of the most influential and most reliable men in the settlement, who gladly made known to the people generally the liberal intentions of the Canadian government, and in consequence one after another of Riel's councillors seceded from him, and being joined by their friends and many of their compatriots and co-religionists, who had throughout held aloof from the insurgents, they determined no longer to submit to his dictation. This change evidently had a marked effect upon Riel, causing him to alter his tactics and profess a desire for an accommodation with Canada. Accordingly, on the 14th of January, he called on me, informed me that he had seen Messrs. Thibault and de Salaberry, whose instructions did not authorize them to give assurances that the people would be secured in possession of their rights on entering into the Confederation, their errand being merely 'to calm the French half-breeds.' He then asked to see my commission, and on my explaining that owing entirely to the action taken by himself it was not in my possession, in an excited yet faltering manner he said, 'Yes, I know, 'tis a great pity; but how soon could you have it?' 'Probably in five or six days,' I replied. 'That is too long, far too long,' he responded, and then asked where the documents were deposited, requesting at the same time a written order for their delivery to his messenger. To this I would not accede, but on his assuring me that they would be delivered into my hands, and that I should be afforded an opportunity of communicating their contents to the people, I consented to send a friend for them. It was so decided, and immediately after the messenger had received his instructions from me I was placed under strict arrest, a captain's guard being assigned me, whose instructions were not to lose sight of me, day or night, and prevent me from communicating either verbally or in writing with any individual. I



QUEBEC CITADEL

protested, saying, 'Am I to consider myself a prisoner?' He replied, 'Certainly not; I have the utmost confidence in your honour but circumstances demand this.'

"It was now about ten o'clock, and my messenger having been marched out, I retired to bed, but only to be awakened twixt two or three o'clock in the morning of the 15th by Mr. Riel, who, with a guard, stood by the bedside and again demanded a written order for the delivery of my official papers, which I again peremptorily refused to give.

"The well-effected French party became aware of what had happened, and not believing in Riel's good faith, determined to prevent the papers from falling into his hands. They got together some sixty or eighty men, who met my friend on his way back, and were escorting him, when on the 18th, about ten miles from the fort, they were accosted by Riel and some of his party and by Rev. Mr. Richot. An altercation took place. Riel attempted to use his pistol, saying 'he would not be taken alive in his own country,' on which a revolver was levelled at his head, and Mr. Richot having interposed, he was unceremoniously told to stand aside and 'not to interfere any further with matters unconnected with his spiritual duties.' It may be well to note that all those who took part in this affair were Catholics, and, with one or two exceptions, French half-breeds. Nothing more serious happened at this time, and the party proceeded together to Fort Garry, where they arrived in the forenoon. A few minutes before they entered the house, the Very Rev. Mr. Thibault, Père Lestanc, and Colonel de Salaberry called upon me, and with the exception of my guard, they were the first individuals with whom I was permitted to converse since the 14th. They appeared to be much concerned, and said it was currently reported that I had been endeavouring to incite the different parties to hostile collisions. I repudiated any such charge, explaining that I had acted only in the cause of peace and order, and with the desire of making the people, both French and English, fully acquainted with the liberal views of the Canadian Government, so that a peaceful transfer of the territory might be effected, adding that I was pleased to think there was every likelihood this would speedily be accomplished. In the meantime the party in possession of my papers entered the adjoining room,

in which Père Lestanc joined them, while Messrs. Thibault and de Salaberry went outside. Immediately after they retired Mr. Riel came to me saying, 'Your commission is here, but in the hands of men who have no right to have it.' I expressed satisfaction that it had been brought in, and said, being now in possession of it I must be relieved from all restraint, and be permitted freely to communicate with the people. He at once removed the guard, and we went up to the party who had just arrived. Messrs. Riel and O'Donoghue with a few of their friends were present, and vehemently protested against the action now being taken, while the ex-councillors accused them of treason to the Imperial Crown, and of using every effort to bring about the annexation of the country to the United States. Riel replied that was only supposing the people desired it, but he was willing the question should be submitted to them. Père Lestanc spoke warmly in favour of the 'President,' who, he said, had acted so as to merit the gratitude of his countrymen, and begged them to still place confidence in him. This evidently had no effect, and ultimately, after a good deal of recrimination, it was arranged that a meeting of the inhabitants from all parts of the settlement should be called for the morrow, the 19th, at which the papers bearing on the subject should be read, a guard of forty men remaining in the house to insure the safe-keeping of the documents.

"Riel's men were now falling away from him, while the loyal party expressed their determination no longer to be guided in the matter either by him or Père Lestanc and his associates. They were full of hope and confident that the following day would bring with it complete success to the cause of Canada.

"Late that night Père Lestanc paid them another visit, which was prolonged for several hours beyond midnight, and next morning it was found that a majority of those who had seceded from Riel were again on friendly terms with him. The hour for the meeting having arrived, upwards of a thousand people attended, and deeming it of great importance that the explanation to be made on behalf of the Canadian Government should be faithfully rendered to the French-speaking portion of the settlers, whose leaders had studiously withheld from them all knowledge of the true state of

matters in connection with the proposed transfer of the country, I requested Colonel de Salaberry to act as interpreter; but the Colonel, diffident of his own ability as a translator, proposed Mr. Riel as an interpreter, and the latter was appointed accordingly.

"At this meeting, and that held the following day, the reading of the Commission, the Queen's letter, and every other document was contested with much obstinacy, but ultimately carried; and threats were used to myself in the presence and hearing of the chairman, of the secretary, Judge Black and others, more especially by Mr. Riel and Rev. Mr. Lestanc. At the commencement of the meeting I requested the chairman and those near him to begin by insisting that all arms should be laid down, and that the flag then flying (fleur-de-lis and shamrock) should be replaced by the British ensign. This they thought would come better at an after-stage; but the opportunity of doing so, now lost, never recurred.

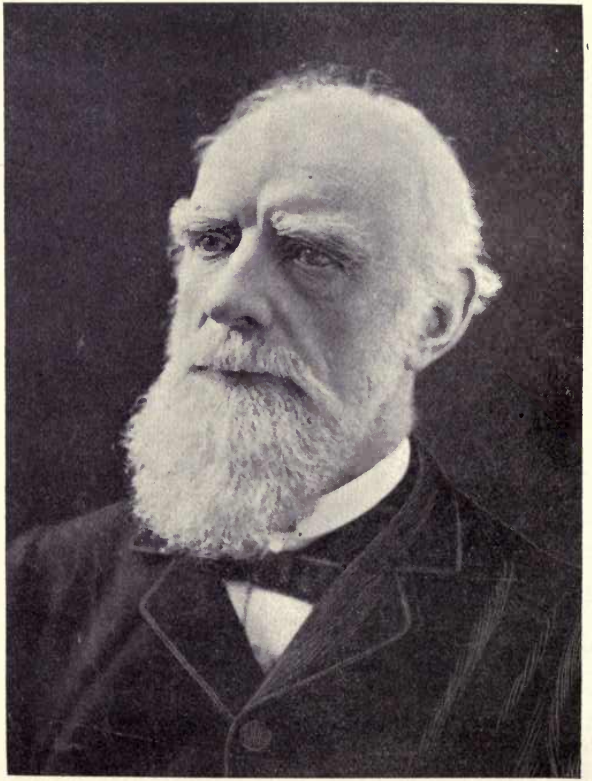
"As is generally known, the result of the meeting was the appointment of forty delegates, twenty from either side, to meet on the 25th January, 'with the object of considering the subject of Mr. Smith's commission and to decide what would be best for the welfare of the country,' the English as a body and a large number of French declaring their entire satisfaction with the explanation, given and their earnest desire for union with Canada.

"On the 22nd Riel had several conferences with the well-affected French within the fort; he was melted even to tears, told them how earnestly he desired an arrangement with Canada, and assured them he would lay down his authority immediately on the meeting of the Convention. They believed him sincere, and although I considered that their guard in the fort should not be decreased, they held that ten men would be amply sufficient to leave while they went to secure their elections. The consequence was that they had hardly gone when repressive measures were resorted to, and the Hudson's Bay Company's stores, which had hitherto been only partially in their hands, were now taken complete possession of by Riel.

"Efforts were made to have the prisoners released, but without effect.

"The delegates met on the 25th and continued in session till the 10th February. On the 26th I handed to their chairman, Judge Black, the documents read at the meetings on the 19th and 20th January, and on the 27th attended the Convention by appointment. I was received with much cordiality by all the delegates, explained to them the views of the Canadian Government, and gave assurances that on entering the confederation they would be secured in the possession of all rights, privileges, and immunities enjoyed by British subjects in other parts of the Dominion; but on being requested by Mr. Riel to give an opinion regarding a certain 'List of Rights' prepared by his party in December last, I declined to do so, thinking it better that the present Convention should place in my hands a paper stating their wishes, to which I should 'be happy to give such assurances as I believed would be in accordance with the views of the Canadian Government.' The Convention then set about the task of preparing a 'List of Rights' embodying the conditions under which they would be willing to enter the Confederation. While the discussion regarding this list was going on, Mr. Riel called on me and asked if the Canadian Government would consent to receive them as a province. My reply was that I could not speak with any degree of certainty on the subject as it had not been referred to when I was at Ottawa, the intention then being that the North-West should in the first instance be incorporated under the Dominion as a territory; but I added no doubt it would become a province within two or three years. On this Mr. Riel, with much emphasis, exclaimed, 'Then the Hudson's Bay Company is not safe yet!' To which I answered, 'Mr. Riel, that cannot influence me in the slightest degree, and I am quite prepared to act as may be required of me in my capacity as Canadian Commissioner.' This was on the evening of the 3rd of February. On the following day the proposition to enter as a province was negatived by the Convention, and on the 5th another motion, directed against the Hudson's Bay Company, also failed, the language used by Mr. Riel on the latter occasion having been violent in the extreme. The same evening Riel proceeded to Governor Mactavish, who had been dangerously ill for many weeks back, and heaping reproaches and insult upon him, declared that he would have him shot before midnight. Riel then sought

GEORGE STEPHEN
1ST LORD MOUNT STEPHEN



DONALD A. SMITH
LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL

out Dr. Cowan, the officer in immediate charge of Red River District, upbraided him for his persistent opposition to 'the people,' the insurgents, and declaring that his name would go down with infamy to posterity for the part he had taken, demanded that he would immediately swear allegiance to the 'provisional Government' or prepare for death within three hours, giving him a quarter of an hour for consideration. The Doctor immediately replied that he knew no legal authority in the country but that of Great Britain to which his allegiance was due, and that he would not take the oath required of him. He was then seized and put in confinement along with the prisoners taken in December last. I was also put under strict charge, but not removed from the house. Notwithstanding this and the painful doubt created in the minds of the English members of the Convention as to the course they should pursue after these arrests, the delegates again met on the 7th. On the 5th they had placed in my hands the 'List of Rights' they had drawn up, which was done at eleven o'clock on the 7th with an intimation that the Convention would be glad to meet at one o'clock p. m., the intervening two hours being allowed me to frame my answers. In drawing up these I was allowed no reference to any document, either written or printed, except the 'List of Rights,' and a guard stood over me to see that I should write nothing else than that to be presented to the Convention. I had just finished writing when Mr. Riel and his Adjutant-General, Lepine, who was also a member of the Convention, came in; and Riel, looking at the latter in a significant manner, said, 'The answers to the 'List of Rights' must be simply 'yes' or 'no.' On this I remarked that I thought otherwise, and would act as circumstances might appear to me to require. I then retired, and on returning to the room a few minutes later, found there Mr. Riel, the Rev. Mr. Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry. We proceeded together to the Convention and in course of conversation Colonel de Salaberry said he would gladly have come to see me before, but could not, as he had been a prisoner throughout.

"The proceedings of the Convention, as reported in the *New Nation* newspaper of the 11th and 18th of February, copies of which I have had the honour of addressing to you, are sufficiently exact, and render it unnecessary

for me here to enter into details. Suffice it to say that a large majority of the delegates expressed entire satisfaction with the answers to their 'List of Rights,' and professed confidence in the Canadian Government, to which I invited them to send delegates, with the view of effecting a speedy transfer of the territory to the Dominion, an invitation received with acclamation and unanimously accepted, as will appear by resolution hereto annexed, along with the 'List of Rights,' and my answer to the same. The delegates were named John Black, Esq., Recorder, the Rev. Mr. Richot, and Mr. Alfred H. Scott, a good deal of opposition having been offered to the election of the last named of the three.

"The proceedings of this Convention came to a close on the 10th of February by the nomination of the 'provisional Government,' in the formation of which several of the delegates declined to take any part. Governor Mactavish, Dr. Cowan, and two or three other persons were then released, and the Hudson's Bay Company's officers again allowed to come and go at pleasure; but I was still confined to the fort, Riel, as he expressly stated to Judge Black, being apprehensive of my influence with the people in the approaching election. Riel promised that all the prisoners should soon be released. On the 11th and 12th six or eight of them were set at liberty, and Dr. Cowan was informed in my presence that as they were all to be discharged without delay, the rooms they had occupied would be placed at his disposal in a day or two, Riel remarking at the same time that he would have them thoroughly cleaned out.

"Rumours now began to circulate of a rising at the Portage, and on the nights of the 14th and 15th of February some eighty or one hundred men from that district passed down close to Fort Garry and proceeded to Kildonan, where they were joined by from 300 to 350 men, principally English half-breeds from the lower parts of the settlement. Had these men, properly armed and organized, been prepared to support the well-affected French party, when the latter took action about the middle of January or even in the beginning of February, during the sitting of the Convention, order might have been restored and the transfer to Canada provided for without the necessity of firing a single shot; but now the rising was not only rash but

purposeless, as, without its intervention, the prisoners would unquestionably have been released. The party was entirely unorganized, indifferently armed, unprovided with food, even for one meal, and wholly incapable of coping with the French now re-united, who, to the number of at least 700, were prepared to offer the most determined resistance, which, as they were in possession of a number of guns (six and three-pounders), ample stores of ammunition, provisions, and every other requisite, they could have done most effectually. My sympathies were, in a great measure, with the Portage men, whom I believe to have been actuated by the best of motives; but under the circumstances it was not difficult to foresee that the issue could not be otherwise than disastrous to their cause. The attempt was therefore to be deplored, as it resulted in placing the whole settlement at the feet of Riel. The great majority of settlers, English and Scotch, discountenanced the movement, and bitterly complained of those who had set it on foot. Forty-seven of the party were captured on their way home while passing within a few hundred yards of the fort. The explanation I have heard given for their otherwise inexplicable conduct in having taken this route, instead of making a détour, which should have insured safety, being a supposed promise by Riel that they should be permitted to pass unmolested. Their messenger, a young man named McLean, on being questioned by Archdeacon McLean and myself in the presence of Mr. Gardner and one or two other gentlemen, admitted that Riel, on being asked if the party would be permitted to pass, was silent and only on being informed that they intended next day to use the route just outside the town remarked, 'Ah, that is good.' And for his purpose it, no doubt, was so. Captain Boulton led the party, and he and his friends at the Portage assured me that he exerted himself to the utmost to keep them from rising, and only joined them at the last moment when he saw they were determined to go forward. He was captured on the 17th, tried by court-martial and condemned to be shot at noon on the following day; but at the intercession of the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, Archdeacon McLean, and in short, every influential man among the English, and I have been told, also at the earnest entreaty of the Catholic clergy, the execution was delayed till midnight of Saturday the 19th. Further than

this, Riel declared he could not, would not yield, except, indeed, Dr. Schultz should be captured in the meantime, in which case he would be shot instead of Boulton. Archdeacon McLean had been in close attendance on Captain Boulton for twenty-four hours, had administered to him the Sacrament, received his last commands, and had promised to be present with him at the last moment; and when I met the Archdeacon on my way to see Riel, about eight o'clock on the evening of the 19th, he was deeply affected, and had given up all hope. I found with Riel Mr. H. N. Robinson, of the *New Nation* newspaper, and shortly after Mr. James Ross, Chief Justice, entered, followed in a few minutes by Mr. Bannatyne, Postmaster, who had been ordered to bring the key of the mail-bag, which Riel opened, and examining the letters, perused and retained one or more. Mr. Ross pleaded for Boulton, but was repulsed in the most contemptuous manner. I had already been speaking to Riel on the subject when interrupted by Mr. Ross' entrance, and now resumed the conversation. Riel was obdurate and said that the English settlers and Canadians, but more especially the latter, had laughed at and despised the French half-breeds, believing that they would not dare to take the life of anyone, and that under these circumstances it would be impossible to have peace and establish order in the country. An example must therefore be made, and he had firmly resolved that Boulton's execution should be carried out, bitterly as he deplored the necessity for doing so. I reasoned with him long and earnestly, until at length about ten o'clock he yielded, and addressing me, apparently with much feeling, said, 'Hitherto I have been deaf to all entreaties, and in now granting you this man's life,' or words to that effect, 'may I ask you a favor?' 'Anything,' I replied, 'that in honour I can do.' He continued: 'Canada has disunited us; you will use your influence to unite us? You can do so, and without this it must be war—bloody civil war!' I answered that, as I had on first coming to the country, I would now repeat, 'I would give my whole heart to effect a peaceable union of the country with Canada.'

"'We want only our just rights as British subjects,' he continued, 'and we want the English to join us simply to obtain these.' 'Then,' I remarked, 'I shall at once see them and induce them to go on with the election of

SIR JOHN CHRISTIAN SCHULTZ

LOUIS RIEL

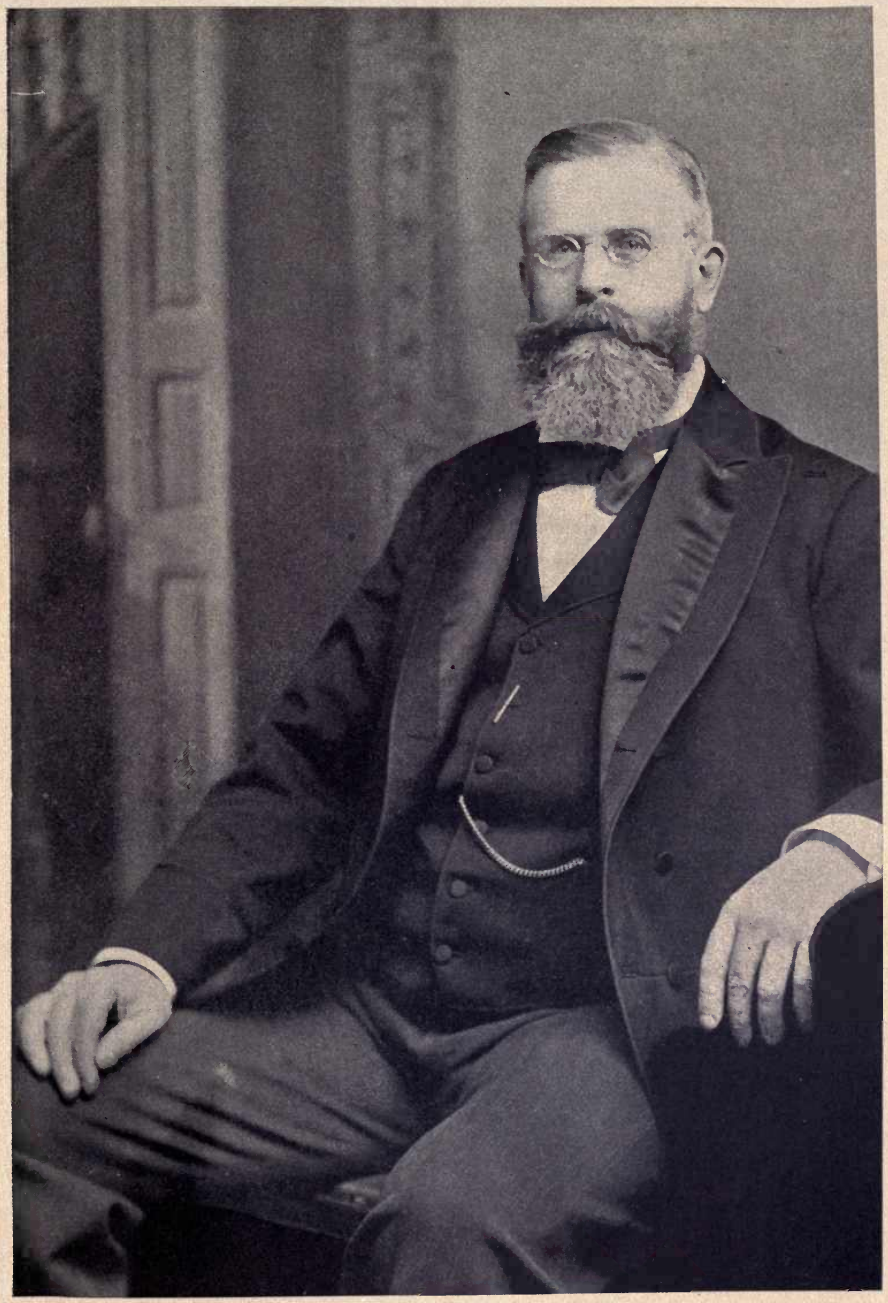
delegates for that purpose'; and he replied, 'If you can do this war will be avoided. Not only the lives, but the liberty of all the prisoners will be secured, for on your success depends the lives of all the Canadians in the country.' He immediately proceeded to the prison, and intimated to Archdeacon McLean that he had been induced by me to spare Captain Boulton's life, and had further promised to me that immediately on the meeting of the Council shortly to be elected the whole of the prisoners should be released, requesting the Archdeacon at the same time to explain the circumstances to Captain Boulton and the other prisoners. The moment was a fearful one for the settlement. Every man's life was in the hands of Riel, and fully appreciating the significance of this, the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Protestant clergy generally, now earnestly counselled the people to elect the delegates without loss of time, as by this means they might to some extent control the course of events, while otherwise they were utterly powerless. I entirely concurred in this view of the case, and Archdeacon McLean having kindly offered to accompany me, we visited the different parts of the settlement, and found that in several parishes the people and those most loyal to the British Crown and most desirous for union with Canada had already chosen their councillors. I explained to all that the Council was to be provisional, in the strictest sense of the word, intended expressly for effecting the transference of the country to Canada, and for ensuring the safety of life and property in the meantime. In some instances I found they had drawn up petitions to Mr. Riel, as 'President,' expressing submission, etc. These I requested them to destroy, advising that nothing more should be done than under the circumstances was absolutely necessary, namely, that having made their election, they should intimate the fact in formal terms to Mr. Bunn, who had been named Secretary of the Council, and not Mr. Riel. The elections in the English parishes having taken place on the 26th February, I again saw Riel, who reassured me that all the prisoners would be released within a day or two after the first meeting of the Council. On the 28th he again sent for me and in the presence of Mr. Fraser, delegate from the Scotch parish, Kildonan, repeated his promise that the lives of the prisoners were secured, and that their release would shortly follow.

"I had no further communication with Riel until Monday, the 4th March, when about ten o'clock in the morning Père Lestanc called on me. He informed me of Bishop Taché's expected arrival—not later certainly than the 8th, and probably some days earlier—adding that his lordship had telegraphed to request that if about to leave for Canada I should defer my departure till he could communicate personally with me. He then said that the 'conduct of the prisoners was very unsatisfactory, that they were very unruly, insolent to the 'soldiers,' and their behaviour altogether so very bad that he was afraid the guards might be forced to retaliate in self-defence.' I expressed much surprise at the information he gave, as the prisoners, without exception, had promised to Archdeacon McLean and myself that, seeing their helpless condition, they would endeavour to act so as to avoid giving offence to their guards, and we encouraged them to look forward to be speedily released in fulfilment of the promise made by Mr. Riel. One man, Parker, was mentioned as having made himself particularly obnoxious by his violent conduct; but not one word was said on this occasion regarding Scott, or the slightest intimation given that he or any other person had been condemned to be shot. About eleven o'clock Père Lestanc left me and went upstairs to communicate to Governor Mactavish, as he said, 'the good news that Bishop Taché was expected so soon.' The Rev. Mr. Young, Methodist clergyman, had just entered the house, and meeting the Père in the hall, conversed with him a few minutes. Mr. Young then came up to me, and from him I had the first intimation that it was intended to shoot Thomas Scott, and that the sentence was to be carried into effect at twelve o'clock noon that day. We agreed in believing that the thing was too monstrous to be possible, and Mr. Young mentioned that poor Scott himself was equally incredulous on the subject, thinking they merely intended to frighten him. However, even to keep him in suspense was of itself a horrible cruelty, and it was arranged that as Mr. Young had been sent for to attend the man, he should see Riel, ascertain exactly how the matter stood, and if really serious to let me know at once. Mr. Young accordingly called on Riel, was informed that Scott had been condemned, that the sentence was irrevocable and would not be delayed one minute beyond noon. Mr. Young begged for delay, saying

'the man is not prepared to die'; but all without avail. He was paralyzed with horror, returned to the prisoner, and immediately sent a messenger to inform me of the result of his visit. I determined to find out Riel immediately, but recollecting that Père Lestanc was still upstairs with Mr. Mactavish, went to him, related what I had heard, and asked him if he knew anything about the matter. His answer I cannot give in precise words, but it was to the effect that they had seen Mr. Riel on the other side (St. Boniface) and had all spoken to him about it, by which I understood that they had interceded for Scott. Governor Mactavish was greatly shocked on being informed of Riel's purpose, and joined in reprobating it. Père Lestanc consented to accompany me, and we called on Riel. When we entered he asked me, 'What news from Canada?' The mail had arrived the preceding day, and I replied, 'Only the intelligence that Bishop Taché will be here very soon.' I then mentioned what I had heard regarding Scott, and before Riel answered Père Lestanc interposed in French words, meaning, 'Is there no way of escape?' Riel replied to him, 'My Rev. Père, you know exactly how the matter stands'; then turning to me he said, 'I will explain to you,' speaking at first in English, but shortly afterwards using French, remarking to me, 'You understand that language?' He said, in substance, that Scott had throughout been a troublesome character, had been the ringleader in a rising against Mr. Snow, who had charge of the party employed by the Canadian Government during the preceding summer in road-making; that he had risen against the 'provisional Government' in December last; that his life was then spared; that he escaped, had again been taken in arms, and once more pardoned, referring, no doubt, to the promise he had made to me, that the lives and liberty of all the prisoners were secured, but that he was incorrigible and quite incapable of appreciating the clemency with which he had been treated; that he was rough and abusive to the guards and insulting to him, Mr. Riel; that his example had been productive of the very worst effects on the other prisoners, who had become insubordinate to such an extent that it was difficult to withhold the guards from retaliating.

"He further said, 'I sat down with Scott as we are doing now, and asked him truthfully to tell me—as I would not use his statement against him—

what he and the Portage people intended to have done with me had they succeeded in capturing me when they surrounded Conture's house,' to which he replied, 'We intended to keep you as a hostage for the safety of the prisoners.' I argued with Riel and endeavoured to show that some of the circumstances he had mentioned, and especially the last, were very strong reasons to urge why Scott's life should not be sacrificed, and that if, as he represented, Scott was a rash, thoughtless man, whom none cared to have anything to do with, no evil need be apprehended from his example. I pointed out that the one great merit claimed for the insurrection was that so far it had been bloodless, except in one sad instance, which all were willing to look upon as an accident, and implored him not now to stain it, to burden it with what would be considered a horrible crime. He exclaimed, 'We must make Canada respect us.' I replied, 'She has every proper respect for the people of Red River, and this is shown in her having sent Commissioners to treat with them.' I told him I had seen the prisoners some time back, when they commissioned me to say to their friends at Portage that they desired peace, and I offered to go to them again and reason with them should that be necessary. On this he said, 'Look here, Mr. Smith, Mr. Scott, the representative, went to see the prisoners at my desire, and on asking them whom they would vote for as councillors, if they were permitted a choice outside their own body, Thomas Scott came forward and said, 'My boys, have nothing to do with those Americans.' And when I remarked, 'This is really a most trifling affair and ought not to have been repeated,' he said, 'Do not attempt to prejudice us against the Americans, for although we have not been with them, they are with us, and have been better friends to us than the Canadians.' Much more was said on both sides, but argument, entreaty, and protest alike failed to draw him from his purpose, and he closed by saying, 'I have done three good things since I have commenced: I have spared Boulton's Life at your instance, and I do not regret it, for he's a fine fellow; I pardoned Gaddy, and he showed his gratitude by escaping out of the Bastion, but I don't grudge him his miserable life; and now I shall shoot Scott.' Lepine, the Adjutant-General—who was president of the council of seven which tried Scott,



THE HON. WILLIAM MULOCK, K.C., LL.D., M.P.

five of whom, Riel told me, 'with tears streaming from their eyes, condemned him as worthy of death,' a sentence which he had confirmed—now entered, and in answer to Riel said, 'He must die.' Riel then requested the Rev. Père Lestanc to put the people on their knees for prayer, as it might do good to the condemned man's soul. Referring to Père Lestanc, and making a final appeal, unnecessary here to repeat, I retired. It was now within a few minutes of one o'clock, and on entering the Governor's house, Rev. Mr. Young joined me and said, 'It is now considerably past the hour, I trust you have succeeded.' 'No,' I said, 'for God's sake go back at once to the poor man, for I fear the worst.' He left immediately, and a few minutes after he entered the room in which the prisoner was confined some guards marched in and told Scott his hour was come. Not until then did the reality of his position flash upon poor Scott. He said good-bye to the other prisoners, was led outside the gate of the fort with a white handkerchief covering his head; his coffin, having a piece of white cotton thrown over it, was carried out. His eyes were then bandaged; he continued in prayer, in which he had been engaged on the way for a few minutes. He asked Mr. Young how he should place himself, whether standing or kneeling; then knelt in the snow, said farewell, and immediately fell back, pierced by three bullets which had passed through his body. The firing party consisted of six men, all of whom, it is said, were more or less intoxicated. It has been further stated that only three of the muskets were loaded with ball cartridge, and that one man did not discharge his piece. Mr. Young turned aside when the first shots were fired, then went back to the body, and again retired for a moment, while a man discharged his revolver at the sufferer, the ball, it is said, entering the eye and passing round the head.

"The wounded man groaned between the time of receiving the musket shots and the discharge of the revolver. Mr. Young asked to have the remains for interment in the burying-ground of the Presbyterian Church, but this was not acceded to, and a similar request, preferred by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, was also refused. He was buried within the walls of the fort.

On descending the steps leading from the prison poor Scott, addressing Mr. Young, said, 'This is a cold-blooded murder'; then engaged in prayer, and was so occupied until he was shot.

"After this date I held no communication whatsoever with Riel, except in reference to getting away from the country, which I was not allowed to leave without a pass. I felt that under the circumstances it was not desirable I should remain longer at Red River, but it was not until late on the night of the 18th inst., Riel gave permission for my departure. Although not accomplishing all that could have been desired, the mission to Red River, as I shall endeavour to show in a few words, had been productive of some good; and that it was not entirely successful may fairly be attributed to the circumstances above referred to, in connection with the action taken and meetings held in January last. Success, although in a lesser degree, might also have been gained at a later period, but for the rising in February, which, though rash and productive of results most unfortunate, I can hardly blame, knowing, as already stated, that those who took part in it were actuated and impelled by generous motives.

"On reaching Red River in December last I found the English-speaking portion of the inhabitants greatly divided in opinion as to the comparative advantages of union with Canada and the formation of a Crown Colony, while a few, a very small number, favoured annexation to the United States. The explanations offered on the part of Canada they received as satisfactory, and with hardly a dissentient voice they would now vote for the immediate transfer to the Dominion. They earnestly requested me to assure His Excellency the Governor-General of their warm loyalty to the British Crown.

"The case is difficult as regards the French half-breeds. A not inconsiderable number of them remained true to their allegiance during all the troubles through which they have had to pass, and with these will now be found associated many others whose minds had for a time been poisoned by gross misrepresentations made by designing men for their own selfish ends. A knowledge of the true state of the case, and of the advantages they would derive from union with Canada had been carefully kept from them, and they

were told to judge of Canadians generally by the acts and bearing of some of the less reflective immigrants, who had denounced them as 'cumberers of the ground,' who must speedily make way for the 'superior race' about to pour in upon them.

"It is also too true that in the unauthorized proceedings of some of the recent Canadian arrivals some plausible ground had been given for the feeling of jealousy and alarm with which the contemplated change of government was regarded by the native population. In various localities these adventurers have been industriously marking off for themselves considerable and in some ways very extensive and exceptionally valuable tracts of land, thereby impressing the minds of the people with the belief that the time had come when in their own country they were to be entirely supplanted by the stranger, a belief, however, which I have no doubt might have been completely precluded by the prevention of all such operations until Canada had fully unfolded her policy and shown the groundlessness of these fears.

"Let us further bear in mind that many of the Catholic clergymen in the country are not French-Canadians, but Frenchmen, and consequently, it may be presumed, not very conversant with British laws and institutions and with the liberty and privileges enjoyed under them. Warmly attached to their flocks, they deemed it necessary to exact some guarantee that in their new political condition they would not be treated with injustice. It is unnecessary here to point out how the breach widened, until at length it attained a magnitude and significance little dreamt of in the commencement, even by those who joined most heartily in the movement. It is far more pleasing to be able to state, which I do with much confidence, that a large majority of the French party have no misgivings as to Union with Canada, and that joined by and under the guidance of his lordship, Bishop Taché, and other members of the clergy who enjoy their confidence, they will shortly prove themselves to be staunch supporters of the Dominion, firm in their allegiance to England.

"In the course of the insurrection one deplorable crime and many grossly illegal acts have unquestionably been committed, but it would be alike unpolitic and unjust to charge them to the French population generally.

"Much obloquy has been heaped on the Hudson's Bay Campany and their Governor and officers in the North-West, which I consider it unnecessary at this moment even to attempt to answer or refute, although not doubting that both could be readily and satisfactorily done. Errors, many and grave, have, it cannot be denied, been committed on all sides, but wilful and intentional neglect of duty cannot, I feel convinced, be laid to the charge either of the Hudson's Bay Company or their representatives in the country. Personally I have been entirely unconnected with the administration of affairs in that department.

"I would respectfully submit that it is of the utmost importance there should be a strong military force in the North-West as early as practicable. The minds of the Indians, especially the tribes in the Saskatchewan country, have been so perplexed and confused by the occurrences of the past six months that it would be very unsafe to trust to their forbearance; and, indeed, until the question of Indian claims has been finally settled, it would not, in my opinion, be prudent to leave the country unprotected by military. The adjustment of those claims will require early attention, and some memoranda and evidence in my hands on the subject I shall, if desired, be prepared to lay before the Government."

Time has shown how much Mr. Smith did to put down the rebellion. Quite as much, indeed, as the army that was sent into the West. The report given here shows with what wonderful skill he handled the turbulent elements in the North-West. From this time on his life was to be peculiarly identified with the west of Canada. In the interests of the Company and of Canada he returned to the great Lone Land at once, and at Fort Alexander met Colonel Wolseley with his brigade journeying towards Fort Garry. He accompanied the brigade to its destination and found the fort deserted and the rebel leaders in flight.

Colonel Wolseley thereupon appointed Donald A. Smith to administer the affairs of the territory until the arrival of the new Lientenant-Governor, the Hon. Adams G. Archibald.

Mr. Smith was now to enter upon his political career. He was elected for the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba for Winnipeg, December 30, 1870, and in March, 1871, was elected to the Dominion Parliament for Selkirk. In 1874 he resigned his seat in the Manitoba House, but continued to sit for Selkirk until 1880. In 1871 he was appointed Chief Commissioner for the Hudson's Bay Company in the North-West, and better results were at once obtained by the Company.

During his first session in the Dominion Parliament the matter of a transcontinental railway came up and Mr. Smith voted in favor of it. Although a comparatively silent member of Parliament, he was an important one, and when any matters relating to the great West came up all eyes were turned towards him. However, he did not fail to make enemies—among others, ex-Governor Macdougall and Dr. Schultz. In 1873 he was again a candidate in the West, this time as a supporter of Alexander Mackenzie.

But the great work done by Mr. Smith for Canada was the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He saw from the beginning of his life in the West the possibilities of such a line. He knew that there were no obstacles that could not be overcome, and he knew that in time, through such a railway, a vast population would move to the fertile plains. At first he believed that the work should be done by the government. He deplored the manner in which the Macdonald government had taken the initiative steps to build this line, and it was on the railway policy that he opposed them. They endeavored to win him to their side, but he believed that no government, on which a shadow of suspicion rested, should exist. On account of the suspicion that rested on the Conservative government he could not give it his support. As a result of his action, bitter words passed between him and Sir John Macdonald, but he kept a dignified attitude through it all, and before the end of his life Sir John was generous enough to express approval of his course.

Mr. Smith's great ambition was to see the Canadian Pacific Railway constructed at an early date, and he deplored the lack of enterprise that Mr. Mackenzie and his government were showing in the matter. He saw no hope of the North-West being built up under Liberal rule, and he once more cast in his lot with Sir John Macdonald. Mr. Smith had now changed his mind with regard to the construction of a railway and believed that it could only be properly done by a company, and so he was to be the "prime mover and leading spirit in the Canadian Pacific Railway Company," and that the road was pushed across the plains and over the Rocky Mountains was largely due to his insight and financial daring. No other country in the world of such meagre and scattered population as the great Dominion, ever completed so vast an enterprise in so short a time; and without Donald Smith there were many stages in its career when it would surely have come to grief.

He had his reward for his enterprise from both the Hudson's Bay Company and the country. He was made Governor of the Company in 1886, and in the same year was created a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. His parliamentary career had continued without a break until 1880, and in 1887 he stood for Montreal West and was elected and continued to represent that constituency for nine years.

His business ventures had been magnificently successful and he was very soon recognized as one of the wealthiest, if not the wealthiest man in Canada. But wealth in itself had no charms for him, and when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed and his hands were to some extent freed, he began to look about him for the best way of doing good with the money he had amassed. In 1887 he and Lord Mount Stephen, at a cost of one million dollars, gave the Royal Victoria Hospital to Montreal. They did this for two reasons, one was that the great commercial centre of the Dominion should have a thoroughly up-to-date and well-equipped hospital, the other was that in their loyalty these two great Imperialists desired to do something not unworthy of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. The hospital is one of the finest in the world, and looks forth upon one of the most magnificent scenes in America. Indeed, "earth has not anything to show more fair" than the

scene from Mount Royal where it stands. Besides his generosity to Victoria Hospital he has done much to build up McGill University, and has showered gift after gift upon that institution.

When the West was in a state of turmoil over the Manitoba School question the public once more looked to Sir Donald Smith to help settle the difficulty in the region he now knew so well. He went to Winnipeg to endeavour to bring the contending parties to a reasonable attitude, and was finally appointed one of the Special Commissioners to look into the situation, and in the end when Sir Wilfrid Laurier settled the question he had as one of his supporters Sir Donald Smith.

Sir Donald Smith's life had been a phenomenally successful one up to the present, and still greater honors were in store for him. He had come to Canada as a totally unknown Scotch lad, and had been appointed to the most desolate post in the domain of the great Hudson's Bay Company, and he had risen, through ability and close application, to the highest position in the gift of the Company, the Governorship. He was now to receive the highest honor in the gift of the Parliament of Canada. When Sir Charles Tupper resigned the High Commissionership to return to the political arena of the Dominion, Sir Donald Smith was sent to England in his place. As we have seen he had never been an active partisan, and had without hesitation deserted his party when he thought his country demanded such a course. He now went to London to act, to use his own words, "in the interests of the country as a whole and not of any party." When the Conservative party was defeated in 1896 he was wisely retained in office by the Liberals. At all times he has had the interest of Canada at heart, and by his vast wealth, clear insight and untiring zeal has done probably more than any other man to make Canada known to the people of the Motherland. In 1897 he was elevated to the peerage with the title of Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal. Although being heard but seldom in the House of Lords, he has on several occasions spoken with force and acceptance.

When the war in South Africa broke out he was to become something more than a Canadian figure. He now stood forth with imperial prominence. The reverses England suffered in Cape Colony, Natal, and

Orange Free State in the early stages of the war drew his attention to the needs of the English Army. Lord Strathcona grasped the situation. He saw, even before the War Office, that the great need in South Africa was an efficient body of scouts, and so he offered to equip and support at his own expense an ideal body of men for service in South Africa. He knew that the place to procure these troops was in the western and north-western parts of Canada with which he was thoroughly familiar. The offer was accepted by the War Office, and the Minister of Militia for the Dominion was given a free hand to raise this regiment. Strathcona's Horse went to South Africa magnificently equipped and bearing a banner with the motto of Lord Strathcona, "Perseverance"—the word that sums up the reason of his success in life.

This great Canadian statesman and Empire builder is now in his eighty-third year, but he is still an energetic worker on behalf of Canada, and is ever a true friend of his country and of the individual Canadians who visit him at the High Commissioner's office in London.

SIR WILLIAM C. VAN HORNE

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

By Louis Honoré Fréchette.

The Early Life of Wilfrid Laurier—His College Education—A Student of Law—For a Time a Journalist—Returns to the Study of Law—Enters the Quebec Legislative Assembly—A Brilliant Orator—Enters the House of Commons in 1874—Speaks in English with Great Power—Appointed Minister of Inland Revenue in the Mackenzie Government—The Defeat of the Mackenzie Government—Edward Blake Resigns the Leadership of Liberal Party—Laurier Chosen Leader—His Long Years in Opposition—Becomes Premier in 1896—His Cabinet—The Manitoba School Question—A New Tariff Introduced by the Liberal Party—Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee—His Foreign Policy—Appointed a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George and a Member of the Imperial Privy Council—Honored in France—His Loyal Action During the South African War—A Prominent Figure at the King's Coronation—The Characteristics of His Oratory—A Thoroughly Loyal British Subject—The Most Genial of Men.

THE present (1902) Prime Minister of the Canadian Dominion is a gentleman who not only commands a considerable degree of *prestige* in his own country, but who has also acquired a high reputation abroad. His eloquence, his ability, his exquisite social qualities, and above all his unblemished personal character as a public man, have made him prominent among the statesmen of the day, and in many respects he ranks inferior to none of them. So his friends are proud to say, and so most of his political opponents—for he has no personal enemies—certainly think. Let me briefly trace the remarkable career of this gifted contemporary who, since the month of June, 1896, has played such an important part in the destinies of our country.

Wilfrid Laurier was born on the 20th of November, 1841, at St. Lin, County of L'Assomption, in the Province of Quebec. His father was M. Carolus Laurier, a land surveyor by profession, a gentleman of limited means, but a most estimable citizen. He took his course at the nearest

College—that of L'Assomption. In 1860, we find him in Montreal on the benches of McGill, and poring over the Pandects and the *Coutume de Paris* in the law chambers of the late Rodolph Laflamme, who was afterwards his colleague, as Minister of Justice in the Mackenzie Cabinet. Having been called to the Bar in 1864, he practised his profession for two years in partnership with the noted Médèric Lanctot, that hot-headed and impetuous journalist and public speaker, who, at the time of the Confederation scheme, enjoyed a noisy popularity which was destined to change soon afterwards into a sad and undignified obscurity. The feverish restlessness of his surroundings at this time were by no means congenial to Laurier's calm and methodical temperament; and this may have been one of the reasons which induced him to leave Montreal. In 1867, the death of Eric Dorion had just occurred, and his *Défricheur*, that popular journal which so valiantly fought the battles of the Liberal party in the Eastern Townships, was also on the point of ending its career, when Lanctot's young partner started for L'Avenir, there to take up the pen which had fallen forever from the grasp of the unswerving Democrat who had hitherto wielded it with such effect. Soon enough, however, the new journalist felt that his talents demanded a different arena and he decided to again seek his fortune at the Bar. The Eastern Townships were then making rapid strides along the path of progress and prosperity, and the future statesman settled at St. Christophe—now Arthabaskaville—and it was not long before his reputation as a lawyer spread wide and far in the district.

His marked oratorical powers, his business integrity and his pleasant and kindly disposition won him a universal popularity; so much so, that in the Provincial elections of 1871 the united Counties of Drummond and Arthabaska returned him as their representative in the Quebec Legislative Assembly by an overwhelming majority. His *début* before the House produced a sensation. Who could he be, this young politician not yet thirty years of age, who thus, in a maiden speech, handled the deepest public questions with such boldness and authority? Whence had this new orator come—so fluent, cultivated and charming—who awed even his adversaries into respect by language so polished, so elevated in tone, so strong and yet so

moderate even in the heat of discussion? On the following day, the name of Laurier was on every lip. From this initial point of his stirring career, the future Prime Minister proceeded by master-strokes. Thus, as the resounding triumph of his *début* in the Legislative Assembly of Quebec had placed him in the highest rank among the most brilliant French orators of his Province, that which marked his entry into the House of Commons, in 1874, carried him at one bound to the distinction of being one of the chief English-speaking debaters of the Dominion. The occasion was a solemn one, and never to be forgotten by any of those who were present. The subject before the House was the expulsion of Louis Riel, the rebel of the North-West, who, though under accusation for the murder of Thomas Scott and a fugitive from justice, had just been elected member for Provencher. The question was a burning one and the public mind was greatly inflamed over it. It required, in very truth, a master of eloquence to take the case in hand and to thread his way without falling or stumbling among the masses and mazes of prejudice which rose up all around the Métis chief. The debate, which was violent and heated, had been going on for two days when at last Laurier took the floor.

He was known to be eloquent. He had already addressed the House in his own tongue at the opening of the Session. No one dreamed, however, that he would risk his reputation by attempting a speech in English under such hazardous and trying circumstances. Great as was the general surprise, the revelation was greater. In the belief of many who heard him that day, no orator—unless, indeed, it be himself—has since achieved a like success in any of our deliberative assemblies. As in the elegance and academic diction of which he is so thorough a master, the brilliant speaker entered calmly into the heart of his subject, a deep silence spread itself through the great Chamber and the English members listened in hushed amazement to this charmer who wielded their own language with such grace, and who dealt them such cruel home-truths in a tone they could not resist applauding. Astonished glances were exchanged on every side. Laurier kept his whole audience hanging upon his lips for more than an hour. Not for a single moment did his eloquence fail him. He expounded the doctrines and

elucidated the principles of legal and constitutional right with the ease of a Parliamentary veteran and the precision of a practised dialectician. He grouped his facts so skilfully, adduced his proofs and authorities with such cumulative force, reared his arguments one upon the foundation of another with such close, quick, inexorable logic, that his conclusions seemed to flash out of their own accord, unforced but irresistible.

Every part of his speech, moreover, was linked to the rest in admirably reasoned sequence, and the oration from beginning to end flowed freely, without hesitation, without a moment's groping for words, and, at the same time, with never one useless sentence, with never one superfluous syllable. No less perfect was the manner of his delivery: the resounding and vibrating voice, the wealth and variety of intonation, the chaste simplicity and appropriativeness of gesture and, finally, the attitude of the speaker, as full of natural self-command as it was of personal dignity. Everything contributed to evoke an indescribable enthusiasm. The outburst of applause which greeted the speaker as he resumed his seat continued for fully five minutes afterwards, while the Ministers of the Crown and all the prominent members flocked around him eager to offer their congratulations. It seemed as if everyone realized that a future Chieftain had just proclaimed himself and asserted his right to leadership by the *Ego nominor leo* that had rung through every sentence fallen from his lips. The cause was a lost one, of course, but Laurier had gained the day so far as he, personally, was concerned. From that moment a place in the Cabinet was virtually assigned to him; and he was called upon to fill it as Minister of Inland Revenue in 1877, on the retirement of M. Cauchon, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.

Then occurred a singular mishap, which furnishes a striking example of the aberrations of the popular mind, as well as the often unaccountable vicissitudes of political life. The new Minister, although he had been returned at the previous election by a majority of more than seven hundred votes over an eloquent and distinguished member of the legal profession, found himself unable to secure his re-election, and was defeated by a worthy and inoffensive village tradesman, who distanced him by a majority of

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twenty-one votes. This was one of the repulses to the Mackenzie Government from which it never recovered. Laurier, indeed, returned to the Capital as the chosen representative of Quebec East, but it was in vain. The impulse had been given and the political see-saw had commenced to sway. The young Minister's popularity in the Province at large was powerless to in any way check it. Nevertheless, the crushing defeat which was suffered by the Liberals in the following year did not in the least degree affect Laurier's personal influence, as may be inferred from the fact of his appointment a few years later to the position of Leader of the party for the whole Dominion. This was indeed a distinction which seemed, in earlier years, beyond the dreams of the most sanguine ambition. The fact that in the Dominion, as a whole, the population of British origin outnumbers the French in the proportion of three to one, had always led to the belief that it was impossible for a French-Canadian to attain the leadership of either of the political parties; and this, not so much on account of the prejudices of English members of the House, as because of the natural unwillingness of the masses to follow a chief whose nationality and creed are not those of the majority. For a political party to select such a leader is a hazardous experiment. Not only does it demand the sacrifice of a most important element of success, but it is not unlikely to endanger the party cause itself.

This consideration—generally paramount to all others in political matters—counted for nothing, however, against the future Premier, and in spite of the fact that the Liberal party included a large group of English members of unquestionable ability and *prestige* when Edward Blake was forced, in 1887, by considerations of health, to hand his marshal's baton to a lieutenant, Laurier was finally chosen to take his place at the head of the phalanx without a dissentient voice. And so firmly and ably did the young leader keep his footing on the treacherous ground he had to tread, that the choice of the party was more than justified all through the long and bitter strife which followed until the final victory was achieved. After nine years of Opposition, leadership and struggle, he at last won the day, and in the month of June, 1896, at the general elections, the Liberal party was returned with a majority of thirty, and Wilfrid Laurier was sworn into office

as President of the Privy Council on the 9th of July. On the 13th of the same month he completed his task of forming an Administration as follows:

Prime Minister and President of the Queen's Privy Council	The Hon. Wilfrid Laurier
Minister of Trade and Commerce	Sir Richard J. Cartwright
Secretary of State	Hon. Richard William Scott
Minister of Justice	Sir Oliver Mowat
Minister of Marine and Fisheries	Sir Louis Henry Davies
Minister of Militia and Defence	Hon. Frederick William Borden
Postmaster-General	Hon. William Mulock
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. Sydney Arthur Fisher
Minister of Public Works	Hon. Joseph Israel Tarte
Without Portfolio	Hon. Richard Reid Dobell
Minister of Finance	Hon. William Stevens Fielding
Minister of Railways and Canals	Hon. Andrew George Blair
Without Portfolio	Hon. Christophe Alphonse Geoffrion
Minister of the Interior	Hon. Clifford Sifton
Minister of Customs	Hon. William Paterson
Minister of Inland Revenue	Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière

In fulfilment of his promise, while in Opposition, Laurier at once gave his attention to the Manitoba School question and was appointed one of the Committee of Council to conduct negotiations with several delegates from the Manitoba Government who were sent to Ottawa to determine on a basis of settlement. The Report of the delegates and the subsequent action taken thereon by the Provincial Government and Legislature are matters of history. The question seems now to have been finally removed from the domain of Canadian politics. The Premier met Parliament in August, and, after obtaining from it the necessary supplies for the fiscal year, brought the Session to a close. On meeting Parliament again, March 25, 1897, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Fielding, submitted a new fiscal policy for the Dominion, the most prominent feature in which was that according preferential trade relations with Great Britain. The new tariff met with little opposition from Parliament, and was favorably received by the people at large. In the month of June the new Premier left for England, on the invitation of Her Majesty's Government, to take part with the Prime Ministers of the other parts of the Empire in the celebration of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. This was a circumstance which might have been a most

dangerous one for any man endowed with less keenness and general versatility of talent than Wilfrid Laurier. His reputation, which had preceded him abroad ; his position as official representative of the most important Colony of the Empire ; and above all the fact of his being a French-Canadian by blood and education, naturally made him the centre of attentions, exceedingly difficult to face calmly—especially by one who had crossed the Atlantic for the first time in his life. But the test was a successful one. Not only was he equal to the task, but all his public utterances, all his political moves, all his appearances before the curtain, increased his popularity and contributed to make him the lion of the day.

In his first speech on landing in England, Sir Wilfrid predicted that the time was approaching "when Canadian pride and aspiration would develop a claim to demand, as a right, their share in that broader citizenship which embraces the whole Empire, and whose Legislative centre is the Palace of Westminster." While on British soil Sir Wilfrid did not lose sight of the practical and material interests of Canada. He succeeded in having the commercial treaties between Great Britain and Germany and Belgium denounced, with a view to freeing Canada from the restraint which prevented her from granting to Great Britain trade favours denied to the treaty powers; and for this new departure in Imperial policy, with "the marvellous goal to which it leads," the London *Times* declared that "Laurier's name must live in the annals of the British Empire." As a natural consequence of all this, the most distinguished honors were lavished upon the Canadian statesman : he was made a member of the Imperial Privy Council and appointed a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge conferred honourary degrees upon him, while the Cobden Club admitted him to honourary membership and awarded him its gold medal, "in recognition of his exceptional and distinguished services to the cause of international and free exchange."

Proceeding to France, he visited President Faure at Havre and was appointed by him a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. At last, after three months of absence which could only be compared to a triumphal march

from the first to the last day, he returned home to be the recipient, with Lady Laurier, of an ovation as general and enthusiastic as ever a royal victor could expect at the hands of fanatically devoted subjects.

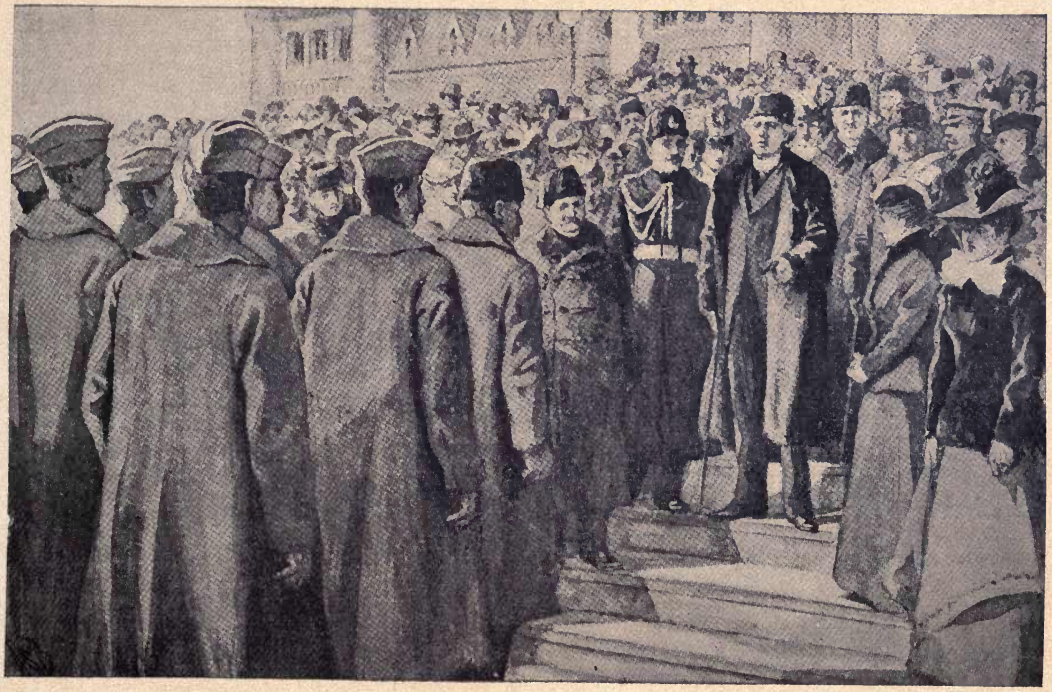
He made Imperial pretensions* while in England and was soon to be called upon to prove that his utterances then were not mere idle words. In 1898 war broke out in South Africa and he was found loyal to the Empire, and with his sanction and approval the first body of troops ever sent abroad by the Canadian parliament to fight in England's wars journeyed to far Africa to do valorous deeds on kopje and veldt.

Once more, in the present year (1902), he journeyed to England to take part in the coronation of King Edward VII., and by his powerful addresses on Imperial affairs, again proved himself the ablest of Canadian orators and statesmen, and showed the motherland that Canada had within her borders brilliant parliamentarians, as able as the leaders in the British House of Commons to deal with questions affecting the interests of the Empire.

After his return from the Diamond Jubilee the Premier received from the Toronto University and from the Queen's University, Kingston, the honourary degree of LL. D. He was also elected an honourary life member of the National Liberal Club, London, England. While in Opposition Sir Wilfrid Laurier is stated to have been engaged during some years in writing a History of Canada, from the Union of 1841, but this has not yet been published. A collection of his principal speeches appeared under the editorship of M. Ulric Barthe in 1890. In his younger days he served in the volunteers, having been Ensign in the Arthabaskaville Infantry Company from 1869 to 1878. He was married on May 13, 1868, to Miss Lafontaine, of Montreal.

As a Parliamentary leader the Canadian Premier has been eminently successful. Thoroughly equipped with information on many subjects; endowed with a presence of mind which makes him always ready at *repartee* and seldom permits him to be caught off his guard; displaying prudence at every step, leaving nothing to chance, charming his friends by his self-confidence and boldness; he disarms his opponents by his courteous

* See Appendix



THE DEPARTURE OF STRATHCONA'S HORSE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

fairness no less than he confounds them by his sudden and brilliant attacks. He is seldom guilty of a false move, and rarely permits himself to be taken by surprise. And, although he may not inflict a crushing defeat upon the enemy at every encounter, nobody can boast of ever having seen him driven from the field. It is, however, on occasions when some vital question has to be disposed of, when the supreme and critical blow which is to decide the fate of a campaign must be dealt, that Laurier rises to the full height of his political stature, and is able to spread the wings of his mind to their fullest stretch. As an orator, Sir Wilfrid Laurier does not indulge in rounded periods and striking metaphors which aim solely at literary effect. He does not labour to find witty phrases and sonorous sentences; nor does he appeal often to the sentiments or passions of his audience. He deals mainly in good sense, fairness and logic. The truth is enough for him; the truth in all its beauty and purity, couched in language that is accurate, scholarly, copious, and as melodious as language can be, yet full of virile energy, which one divines rather than feels, under the nervous pungency of an elocution which gushes out as limpid as the water from a rocky spring. You cannot listen to him for five minutes without saying to yourself: "An honest man is speaking"—*Vir bonus dicendi peritus.* Alluding to his talent as a public speaker, the London *Daily Mail* compared him with some of the foremost British statesmen, and expressed a wish that it were possible to place him side by side with them in the Imperial Parliament.

While Laurier is not by any means an idealist in the narrow sense of the word, he may be said to be under the domination of one germinal and originative idea, which I regard as the synthesis, so to speak, of an intellect as diversified in its qualities as it is free from confusion and complexity. This dominating idea may be summed up in the phrase "Liberalism in the service of patriotism." An advanced patriotism and a temperate Liberalism. By an advanced patriotism must be understood one which is broad and enlightened and dares to look the future in the face; while temperate Liberalism means that kind of Liberalism which has shaken off all the hyperbolism and utopian dreams in which its so-called principles are so often wrapped in some of the countries of Europe. Yes, Sir Wilfrid Laurier is an

enlightened patriot; that is a patriot of his own day and of his own country. There does not, I believe, exist a truer Canadian. Canada—not the Province of Quebec alone—is his fatherland. It is upon Canada as a whole that his thoughts and hopes are constantly centered. He loves his own race and is proud of it: but he strives to develop, both in himself and others, all that is broad and lofty in that sentiment, and to discourage any elements of narrowness and exclusiveness which it may contain.

As to his Liberalism, the formula of it he has borrowed, *in toto*, from the chosen high-priests of English democracy, and its spirit and essence he recognizes to be in the British Constitution—that Constitution, which is, to adopt his own expression, elastic enough to admit all new ideas, yet solid enough to serve as a bridge between the institutions of the past and the aspirations of the future. Physically Sir Wilfrid Laurier is distinction itself, and would attract notice in the most aristocratic gathering. He is tall, slight and elegant in figure; while he commands respectful admiration by the dignity of his carriage as well as by a certain unaffected, and probably unconscious grace which is the ruling characteristic of his whole personality. His whole countenance denotes peace in himself and good will to others. In his social relations Laurier suffers no loss of the *prestige* that distinguishes him in other spheres. His affability and hospitality under his own roof, the charm of his manner and conversation as a guest, his generous open-handedness and open-heartedness on all occasions and to all men, would have been sufficient to earn him a reputation in society, had his work as a statesman left room for a rival distinction. He possesses in addition the loftiest characteristic of strong natures and of those whose merits have been established by fame, that of never making anyone feel too conscious of his superiority. All are at ease with him. A great man in public; an amiable cavalier among the fair sex; a genial companion among his intimate friends; his lips ever ready with a laugh as frank and hearty as his words; such is Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

APPENDIX.

REPLY TO THE TOAST, "OUR GUESTS, THE COLONIAL PREMIERS," BY SIR WILFRID LAURIER, PREMIER OF CANADA, AT A BANQUET GIVEN BY THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE TO THE COLONIAL PREMIERS, LONDON, JUNE 18, 1897. THE PRINCE OF WALES, NOW KING EDWARD VII, PRESIDED AND INTRODUCED SIR WILFRID.

Your Royal Highness, My Lords and Gentlemen:—The toast which your Royal Highness has just proposed in such graceful terms is one which is important at all times and opens a subject which at the present time perhaps more than at any other engrosses and absorbs the minds of all thinking men. During the few days in which my colleagues and myself have had the privilege to be in England we have had hourly evidences that the Colonies at the present moment occupied no small part in the affections of the people of England. Sir, Colonies were born to become nations. In my own country, and perhaps also in England, it has been observed that Canada has a population which in some instances exceeds, in many others rivals the population of independent nations, and it has been said that perhaps the time might come when Canada might become a nation of itself. My answer is this simply: Canada is a nation. Canada is free, and freedom is its nationality. Although Canada acknowledges the suzerainty of a Sovereign Power, I am here to say that independence can give us no more rights than we have at present.

Lord Lansdowne has spoken of a day when perhaps our Empire might be in danger. England has proved at all times that she can fight her own battles, but if a day were ever to come when England was in danger, let the bugle sound, let the fires be lit on the hills, and in all parts of the Colonies, though we might not be able to do much, whatever we can do shall be done by the Colonies to help her. From all parts of this country since I have been here, both in conversation and in letters, I have been asked if the sentiments of the French population of Canada were characterized by absolute loyalty towards the British Empire. I have been reminded that

feuds of race are long and hard to die, and that the feuds of France—the land of my ancestors—with England have lasted during many generations. Let me say at once that though it be true that the wars of France and England have their place in history, it was the privilege of the men of our generation to see the banners of France and England entwined together victoriously on the banks of the Alma, on the heights of Inkerman, and on the walls of Sebastopol.

It is true that during the last century and the century before, a long war, a long duel, I might call it, was waged between England and France for the possession of North America, but in the last battle that took place on the Plains of Abraham, both generals, the one who won and the one who failed, fell. If you go to the city of Quebec you will see a monument erected in commemoration of that battle. What is the character of that monument? Monuments to record victories are not scarce in England or in France; but such a monument as this which is in Quebec, I do not think you will find in any other part of the world, for it is a monument not only to him who won, but also to him who failed. It is a monument dedicated to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, and the dedication, which is one of the noblest and best of the kind, not only for the sentiments which it records but also as a literary expression, is as follows:

"*Mortem victus communem famam historia monumentum posteritas dedit.*" Here is a monument to the two races equal in fame, courage, and glory, and that equality exists at the present time in Canada. In this you have the sentiments of my countrymen—we are equal to-day with those who won on the battle-field on the Plains of Abraham. It is by such acts that England has won the hearts of my fellow-countrymen; it is by such acts that she can ever claim our loyalty.

Your Royal Highness, let me now thank you from the bottom of my heart for the kind words you have just spoken. Your Royal Highness has been kind enough to remind us that at one time in its earlier day you visited Canada. Many changes have taken place since that time, but let me assure your Royal Highness there has been no change in the loyalty of the people of Canada.

A Review of Popular Progress

IN a country where the traditions of the people have been chiefly those of other and older lands; where the history, until within a few generations of time, has been one of internal conflict between rival races and foreign flags; where the modern events of development in a constitutional direction and in material welfare have been controlled by the slowly-merging antagonisms of race and religion; the growth of liberty and the matured practice of self-government have naturally afforded room for interesting and stirring experiences. Add to these considerations vast and almost unknown areas, immense difficulties of transportation and trade, the competition of a great southern neighbour of not always friendly tendencies, the continued arrival throughout half a century of hundreds of thousands of people with diverse tastes and politics and various degrees of knowledge or ignorance, and the position grows in interest and importance.

With the nineteenth century commenced the constitutional history of Canada. To the British subject and elector of the end of that century it is difficult to clearly comprehend the situation in those olden days. Newspapers were so few as to be of little influence. Books were scarce, valuable, and of a character not calculated to throw light upon existing problems. The people of Lower Canada were wrapped up in the traditions and surroundings of many years before and, under the British flag, were fondly nursing the ideas and ideals of Old France in the days of Louis XIV.; of New France in the days of Montcalm and the earlier period and glories of Frontenac. The people of the English Provinces were still little more than

isolated pioneer settlers steeped in the shadowed memories of a past struggle for King and institutions and country; embittered against all republican or democratic tendencies; prejudiced, naturally and inevitably, against the Radicals of England who had helped to ruin the Royal cause in the Thirteen Colonies and against the French of Quebec who had been so long the traditional enemies of England and the sincere foes of British supremacy in North America. To them, all new-comers, whether the later Loyalists from the States, or immigrants of subsequent years from the Old Land, were subjects of suspicion as being possibly alien in origin, or indifferent in sentiment to their own sacrifices and their own sacred political beliefs. To the French-Canadians, all immigrants were equally undesirable as being practically certain to possess religious and racial differentiation from themselves.

THE EVOLUTION OF CANADIAN PARTIES

Into this peculiar mass of varied interests and antagonistic feelings came the leaven of a constitutional and Parliamentary system. It did not develop from within. It was not the result of popular evolution or even of popular desire. The French-Canadians accepted it as an external part of their new situation, a political appanage to the Conquest; while the Loyalists of the other Provinces did not really want it and would probably have been quite satisfied for many years to come with able Governors and reasonably efficient local advisers. Still, the latter knew how to use it when received and were more or less familiar with the underlying principles of a Legislature and free government. When, however, increasing population brought varied political sentiments and personalities into conflict with the Loyalists, the inevitable result followed and a dominant class found itself in collision with a dominating people who cared more for the present than the past, more for phantasms of liberty than memories of loyalty, more for a share in the government of the country than for abstract

justice to the men who had in great measure made the country. In Lower Canada, as elsewhere pointed out, the Legislature soon became merely a weapon of offence against everything British ; and the external institution foisted upon a people who understood autocracy better than the simplest principle of freedom and who had not even practiced the most rudimentary elements of municipal self-government was adapted to the exigencies of racial feeling with a facility which reflects credit upon French-Canadian quickness of perception while fully illustrating the racial prejudices of the people. Out of these conditions came the Rebellion of 1837, the troubles of 1849, and the struggles of the "Sixties."

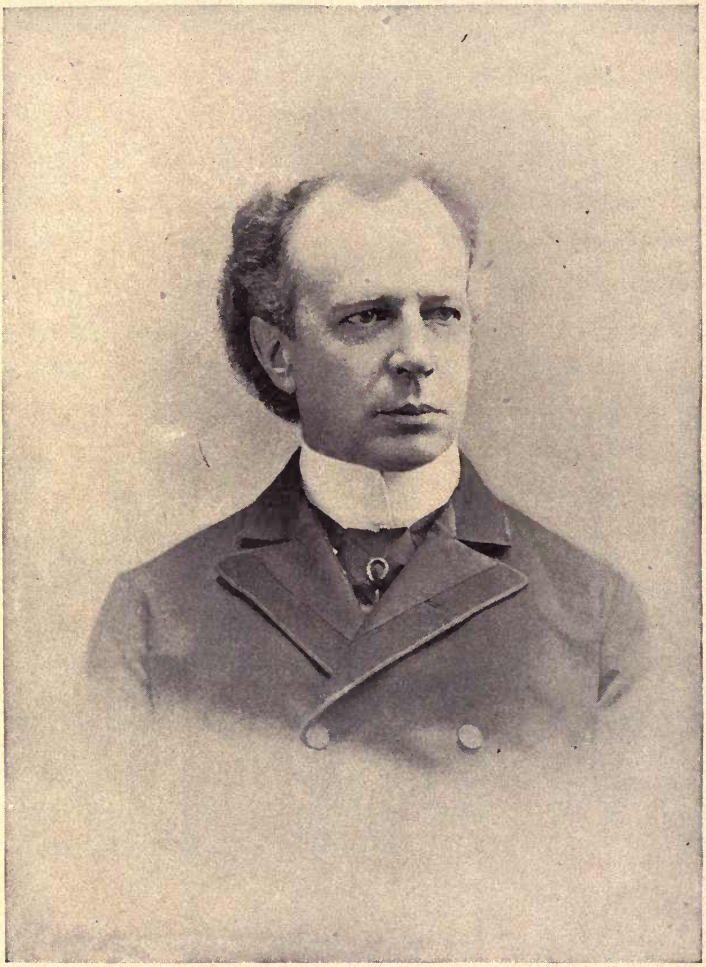
At the beginning of the century Toryism was dominant ; at the end of the century democracy governs. Which was the better? The average writer will unhesitatingly say that the rule of the people, by the people, is the accredited dictum of his age and the only just principle of government. But the admission of the fact that popular rule is wise and right in 1900 does not interfere with a perception that, under vastly different conditions, other forms and systems in 1800 may also have been wise and proper for the time being. The government by a class in the English Provinces and in days when that class represented the loyal and pioneer population of the country, and ruled it in accordance with the hereditary sentiments of the majority was not in itself unjust in practice or despotic in principle. The resistance of that class to innovation and democracy was natural and probably wise at a time when these things meant American ideas and the dangers of American propaganda in a small and weak community. The rule of a few leading families of experience and knowledge in days of scattered settlers and isolated homes and general poverty was in itself a benefit. In Lower Canada the English settlers were the only class trained in the self-government which had been meted out in a measure as large as was thought to be safe and wise and which

was really too large for the occasion. They were the only element, outside of a few Seigneurs, who were in any way fitted for administration and justice and the making of impartial laws—as the subsequent adventures of the French Assembly clearly prove.

Moreover, if this class Government of 1800 was a selfish one in some respects it was not any more so than a partisan Government in 1900 would be. If it chose associates from, and filled appointments with, its relatives and friends, the sin was no greater than that of any Canadian Government of a hundred years later. If it fought strenuously and sincerely, in all the Provinces, for British institutions as then understood and for the British connection which it regarded as a child does its mother, who is there in 1900 that can throw stones at it? Faults and flounderings there were in the Toryism of 1800, but if we measure it in accordance with its pioneer surroundings and limited resources we must conclude that those results were no more serious in bulk or consequences than are the faults and flounderings of the democracy of 1900. And, between the two, lie a hundred years of struggle and evolution, of growing wealth and increased popular intelligence.

CANADIAN POLITICAL LEADERS

The leaders of the century, the rulers of the people, have, however, greatly changed in character and scope of culture as the country has slowly broadened out from Colonies into Provinces, from Provinces into a Dominion, from a Dominion into a British nation. The early leaders of the Canadas such as William Smith, Jonathan Sewell, John Beverley Robinson and Isaac Allen were steeped to the lips in memories of the Thirteen Colonies and the Revolution. Later Tory leaders such as Bishop Strachan, Sir Allan N. McNab, William Henry Draper, Henry Sherwood and William Cayley were equally instinct with the traditions of English public life as found in the pages of history and the knowledge of Canadian adherents. Many of these men were cultured gentlemen in the best English sense



THE RT. HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER

of the word, as were also Robert Baldwin, Francis Hincks and such French-Canadians as Sir L. H. Lafontaine, Sir A. A. Dorion and Sir E. P. Taché. They strove to imitate English manners and customs as far as possible and many leaders of French extraction added a most useful element of courtesy and grace to the politics and social life of the young and struggling community. On the other hand many of the French-Canadian leaders of the first half of the century were steeped in the traditions of French life, the affiliations of French literature and the elements of French thought. They followed the democracy of republican France—with a dash of republican America as one of the constituents of theory and policy. Canada as a national entity was, of course, not in existence and the culture of the mixed community was, therefore, either French or English, with a strong additional independent element—as the years advanced toward the beginning of the second half of the century—of something that was purely American in style and type.

In the year 1900 it is almost a question which of all these elements is uppermost in the peculiar condition of affairs embodied in the name Canadian. There is a strong and pronounced Canadian sentiment amongst the people which has largely overcome and destroyed, in their politicians and leaders, the extraneous tendencies of opinion known as French, or English, or American. At the same time the bulk of the population is British in its loyalty and increasingly Imperialistic in opinion—a sentiment grading upwards from the passiveness of Quebec to the enthusiasm of Toronto, or Victoria, or Halifax. The culture of the community has become, nominally, a local culture. It chiefly emanates from local Universities and in politics is made to fit local feelings. But the general tendency has been to make this culture American in style and character. Canadian Universities are largely affected by American influences, as is the whole educational system of the country. The press is American in type

and utterly opposed in principles of management to the English model. The politics of the Dominion are run upon lines about halfway between the antagonistic systems of Great Britain and the United States. The speech, manner and style of its public men are essentially American and the social character of the community more nearly approximates to that type than to any other.

Canadian leaders of the last half of the century have been very different in type from their fellow-leaders at the heart of the Empire. Few of them have even had the culture of old-time gentlemen such as Robinson or Sewell. None of them have shown the varied accomplishments now so common amongst the statesmen of Great Britain where a Salisbury is devoted to science, a Rosebery has written one of the most eloquent little books of the century, a Balfour has won fame as a philosophic writer and a Gladstone has distinguished himself in almost innumerable fields of attainment. Lack of time and the fact of having to make a living when out of office, together with the receipt of small salaries when in office, are the real reasons for this condition of affairs. In England it is an every-day matter for some leading public man to speak at length, and with evident learning, upon questions of literature, art, sociology, philosophy, and the progress, or otherwise, of all the varied elements of a complex civilization. As yet Canada has not approached this level though signs have not been wanting toward the end of the century that the Dominion is slowly growing upwards in culture as in other matters. And, even now, it is greatly superior in the style of its public men to the position of Australasian leaders.

In other respects Canadian leaders differ from those of earlier years. With all their wider outlook and the Imperial position which the Dominion has latterly attained they still remain somewhat narrow in conception while the necessity of conciliating rival races and religions has developed an extreme opportunism. The latter quality has

come to them in part from over the American border; in part from the peculiar nature of the mixed Canadian democracy; in part from the brilliant example in details and methods, though not really in principles, of Sir John A. Macdonald. The British practice of holding certain political convictions, in office or out of it, and of willingly surrendering power if anything happens to change those convictions, has not prevailed in Canada to anything like a general extent since the days of responsible government. Sir John Macdonald, it is true, had certain defined and prominent principles—British connection, protection, opposition to American union of any kind—but outside of these he was quite willing to modify his opinions in order to forward the interests of his party. It was not so in the earlier days of Canada; it is not so in the later days of England where a Hartington, or Bright, or Chamberlain, has sacrificed his party feelings and associations and apparent future in order to oppose the new and dangerous proposals of a great popular leader such as Gladstone.

Still, the politics of Canada, with all their admitted elements of weakness do not, at the end of the century, merit pessimistic consideration. Sir John Macdonald may have been an opportunist in minor matters, but it is more than probable that Canada would not be a national unit and a power in the Empire to-day if he had not combined opportunism with the higher methods of statesmanship. Sir John Thompson, during his nine years of Dominion public life, gave the country a career of sterling honesty and won a reputation for political integrity which deserves the appreciation of posterity as it certainly conferred credit upon the Dominion of his too-brief day. Sir Leonard Tilley combined undoubted personal honour with rare qualities of speech and manner and heart.

Sir Oliver Mowat, during his almost quarter of a century of Premiership in the Province of Ontario, displayed qualities of tact and conciliation which rose to the level of statesmanship. Sir

Adolphe Chapleau, during his long career in the politics of Quebec and Canada, developed a character that was curiously compounded of political selfishness and indifference to some of the higher principles of public life, with an eloquence which was so great as to stamp him a born leader of men. Sir Charles Tupper has contributed to Canadian history an element of force, a character of determination, and a career of consistent political labour which marks him out as a man worthy of high place in any country's Valhalla of eminence. The Hon. George Eulas Foster has given to the later years of Dominion politics an eloquence of speech and debate which it is difficult to find the equal of in Canadian history—unless it be the case of Joseph Howe. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the first Liberal Premier of Canada since the days of Mackenzie, is an undoubted opportunist in politics, but he is also one of the most picturesque figures in the public life of the Empire. Handsome, eloquent in French and English, graceful in manner and bearing, cultured in language and attainment, he is a man of whose personality the country has reason to be proud. Sir Richard Cartwright is of a very different type, and one of the very few Canadian politicians whose oratory approximates to the English style and whose references and similies indicate wide knowledge and reading.

Upon the whole it is apparent that, while Canadian politics are on a lower level than those in England, they are upon a much higher plane than in the United States or Australia. It is also clear that, while political leaders have changed greatly from the type of rulers living in the beginning of the century and have not yet developed the culture of older lands and wider opportunities, they have managed to more than hold their own upon this continent and are now, at the end of the century, rapidly developing along lines of politcal action which must, more and more, bring them into touch with the world-wide interests, politics and rule of the Mother-land. This will probably produce a higher form of political life and individual culture

in the future, though its attainment must be preceded by the creation of a more truly Canadian press and the establishment of a news system which does not leave the daily intellectual food of the Canadian people in American hands, or British and Imperial public affairs to be dealt with from a naturally alien and unsympathetic point of view.

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

During the century which constitutes the developing period of Canadian history, as distinct from its picturesque and military periods, education has gone through various stages of growth. In Quebec it was at first essentially a religious and ecclesiastical system, controlled by priests and nuns and institutions under the leadership of the Church. Much of it was of the higher, or collegiate, type and intended primarily for the training of religious teachers. The attempts at establishing a general school system prior to the Rebellion, in 1837, were tentative and feeble, even amongst the small English population; and such schools as were in existence met with disaster in the times of trouble immediately preceding and succeeding the insurrection. The teachers of the day were needy and illiterate, the supervision careless and dishonest, the school-houses dirty and, in winter, very cold, the children unprovided with books, and the parents singularly indifferent.* After the union with Upper Canada legislation of various kinds and degrees of value followed and, between 1853 and 1861, the pupils in Lower Canadian educational institutions of all kinds increased from 108,000 to 180,000 and the assessments and fees for their support rose from $165,000 to $526,000.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic religious bodies of the Province had increased greatly in educational strength and efficiency—especially the higher institutions of instruction. They possessed at least 2,000,000 acres of land, some of it in the heart of Montreal and other growing centres, which developed wealth by every year's growth

* Arthur Buller. *Report upon Education in the Province of Quebec. 1838.*

of the country. Colleges for this kind of teaching were founded at Quebec, Montreal, L'Assomption, Joliette, Levis, Nicolet, Rigaud, Rimouski, Ste. Anne, St. Hyacinthe, St. Laurent, Rouville, Terrebonne, and other places. In 1854 Laval University was inaugurated at Quebec and later on was also established in Montreal. From its scholastic halls have come most of the rulers and leaders of French Canada since that time. Three years later Normal Schools were established for the training of teachers and in 1854 a Council of Public Instruction was organized with eleven Catholics and four Protestants in its membership. Out of this development came a common or public school system which slowly improved until, in 1875—eight years after Confederation when education had been placed in the hands of the Provincial Governments—legislation initiated by M. de Boucherville, along the lines which had been slowly evolved by Dr. Jean Baptiste Meilleur and the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau in two preceding decades, established the existing system.

At the end of the century this system is notable as having been created in a Province dominated by one race and religion and yet conceived and practiced in almost perfect fairness toward the minority. The Superintendent of Public Instruction has usually held office for many years in succession and has been fairly independent of political parties. The Catholic and Protestant elements of the population have separate Sections of the Council of Public Instruction and they administer the funds provided so as to suit the different ideas and ideals of their people. The Province boasts of seventeen colleges founded and maintained by the Roman Catholic clergy. It has McGill University as the centre of its English-speaking education during fifty years—much of the time under the administration and management of the late Sir William Dawson—and now developed into one of the great Universities of the British Empire. The standard of superior education in the Province is high ; the standard of education in its

more preliminary forms is improving ; the teaching Orders of women who instruct pupils, numbering, in 1896, over 37,000, in domestic economy as well as in ordinary accomplishments, are doing most useful work ; the number of children attending schools of all kinds has increased from 212,000 in 1867 to 307,000 in 1897.

In the other Provinces there has been no racial division amongst the people, but there were, at first, the inevitable difficulties of pioneer life, poverty of resource and distances in space. Isolation and lack of money produced paucity of schools everywhere and poorness of teaching wherever they did exist. Dr. John Strachan, Bishop and politician and polemist, was practically the pioneer of education in Upper Canada. Out of his school at Cornwell came the leading men of the early days and from his conception of sectarian, or Church of England education, came greater institutions of learning in Toronto—the Upper Canada College, King's College, which was afterwards secularized as the University of Toronto, and Trinity College, which he then established as an educational centre for his cherished Church.

Contemporary with him in part, and living and working after him, was Dr. Egerton Ryerson, the modern organizer of the public school system of Ontario, the vigorous and devoted champion of popular education and common schools. At first, in Upper Canada and down by the Atlantic, as in Quebec, instruction in its simpler forms was greatly neglected. Long after the people had passed out of their pioneer position and the excuse of poor roads or no roads, and of poverty, or lack of public organization, was removed from valid consideration, they seemed to remain indifferent, in all the English Provinces, to the education of children and to be much more inclined to lavish money and attention upon Colleges and higher branches of learning. The log schoolhouse of early days, the painfully inadequate accommodation for the pupils, the ignorant and sometimes intemperate teachers, remained

public evils, in at least the two latter particulars, well up to the end of the first half of the century. Gradually and eventually, a change for the better took place. Dr. Ryerson worked wonders in Upper Canada. His School Act of 1850, followed by the establishment of Separate Catholic Schools in 1862, laid the foundation of the existing system which the sweeping legislation of 1871 altered greatly in detail without affecting seriously in principle.

In 1876 the important change was made of placing the Education Department in charge of a responsible member of the Provincial Government and, between that time and 1883, it was under the control of the Hon. Adam Crooks. His successor was the Hon. George W. Ross who held the position until his accession to the Premiership of the Province in 1899. Progress from the middle of the century onwards had been very marked. Between 1850 and 1871 the teachers in the public schools increased by 2,000 in number and the attendance of pupils by 100,000. Between the latter date and 1896 the teachers increased from 5,306 to 8,988 and the average attendance of pupils from 188,000 to 271,000. More important still, perhaps, the standard of education grew better and better until the public schools were fully established in a position of equality with other departments of study and as part of a great educational chain in which the links were the elementary or public schools, the high schools, the normal schools for teachers, the Colleges and Universities.

Sectarian higher education had, meanwhile, grown greatly in popularity and power in Ontario. Besides the University of Toronto which was secular in its control and instruction, though originally sectarian, and Trinity College, which was Anglican in support and policy; the Presbyterians had started Knox College at Toronto and Queen's University at Kingston—the latter a notable institution in the concluding quarter of the century under the control of Principal George Monro Grant; the Methodists founded Albert College at

Belleville, which, in time, joined with Victoria College of Cobourg, as a federated institution and later on became Victoria University of Toronto; the Baptists established McMaster University in Toronto; and the Roman Catholics founded, in succession, Regiopolis College at Kingston and the University of Ottawa at Ottawa.

In the Maritime Provinces early conditions were very similar to those of Upper Canada or Ontario. There was the same poverty in school arrangements and paucity in teaching talent or training. There was the same indifference shown amongst the masses of the people toward elementary education and the same tendency among the rulers and upper classes to promote higher education and collegiate institutions. King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia, was organized as far back as 1788; the University of New Brunswick was founded at Fredericton in the first year of the century; Dalhousie University was established at Halifax under the auspices of the Earl of Dalhousie in 1821; Acadia College, Wolfville, was formed in 1838, as the educational centre of the Baptists and as a protest against the Church of England associations of all the other Colleges. Mount Allison College, Sackville, N. B., was founded by the Methodists in 1843 and the Presbyterian College at Halifax in 1820. In Nova Scotia, the Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch and in New Brunswick, the Rev. Dr. Edwin Jacob did continuous and splendid service to this cause of higher education. The elementary system developed more slowly. Nova Scotia possessed only 217 schools and 5,514 pupils in 1824, spent upon them less than $50,000 and voted down more than one measure for taxing the people in their support. In 1850, however, Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. W. Dawson was appointed the first Superintendent of Education in the Province. Progress then became more rapid and improved methods of teaching and plans of building were developed. He was succeeded in 1855 by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Forrester and, in 1864, the Hon. Dr. Tupper introduced in the

Legislature of Nova Scotia his famous measure establishing free schools and a general public assessment for their maintenance. He fought the Bill through successfully but the unpopularity of the direct taxation involved defeated him at the ensuing elections.

The system, however, was established and, under the succeeding management of the Rev. A. S. Hunt, Dr. Theodore H. Rand, Dr. David Allison and Dr. Alexander H. MacKay, became eminently successful. The number of teachers rose from 916 in 1865 to 2,438 in 1896, the average daily attendance of pupils from 23,572 to 53,023, the popular assessment for expenses from $124,000 to $450,000, the Provincial grant from $87,000 to $242,000. The Council of Public Instruction is composed of five members of the Government and the Superintendent of Education is a non-political administrator of the Department under their general control. Separate schools have never been organized in Nova Scotia under Provincial auspices, although the Catholics have an efficient system of higher education including St. Francois Xavier College at Antigonish and the College of Ste. Anne at Church Point.

In New Brunswick, for many years after the beginning of the century, teachers' salaries remained so small and the position was so undignified—as a result of the universal custom in pioneer Canada of "boarding around" at the houses of the school patrons so as to eke out meagre remuneration—that good men would have nothing to do with the profession. As late as 1845 teachers' wages averaged $125 a year in this Province and much of that miserable sum was not paid in cash. In this year, however, matters seem to have come to a head, a Committee of the Legislature was appointed to investigate the condition of education in the Province and two years later an effort was made to establish an organized system. In 1852 a Superintendent was appointed and in 1858 further legislation took place. But it appeared impossible to change the apathy and indifference of the people. Though they were fighting bitter sectarian contests over Universities

ROSSLAND, BRITISH COLUMBIA, IN 1898

and Test Acts and higher education they refused to take any interest in, or tax themselves for, the elementary teaching of their children.

In 1871, therefore, it was decided to establish free schools and compulsory attendance and to, at the same time, abolish all religious teaching. This latter action was a distinct blow to the Catholic Separate Schools which had practically developed and was, of course, strongly resented by the people of that Church. The measure passed, however, and stands as greatly to the credit of the Hon. George E. King, then Premier of the Province and afterwards Justice of the Supreme Court at Ottawa, as does the preceding establishment of free schools in Nova Scotia to the credit of Sir Charles Tupper. The system is much the same as in the latter Province and has been presided over since 1871 by Dr. Theodore H. Rand, William Crocket and Dr. James R. Inch. From 1872 to 1897 the number of schools increased from 884 to 1737, the teachers from 918 to 1829, and the pupils from 39,000 to 61,000.

In little Prince Edward Island conditions were not different in early times from those in the larger Provinces and it was not until 1825 that its first Education Act was passed. The year 1852 saw the establishment of a free school system and, in 1860, the Prince of Wales' College was opened at Charlottetown. There were 121 schools in 1841 and 531 in 1891 ; 4,356 pupils in the former year and 22,138 in the latter. To sum up the situation in these Provinces it may be said that everywhere prior to Confederation similar conditions existed and everywhere the same beneficial results have since followed the establishment of free schools, the formation of Normal Schools for the training of teachers, the taxation of the people for educational matters, their enforced interest in school affairs and the elevation and increased dignity given to the teaching profession.

Development along these lines in the North-West and British Columbia was naturally an affair of comparatively recent times.

Such education as there was in earlier days came through the devoted activities of pioneer missionaries such as the ministers of the Red River Settlement, Fathers Taché and Provencher, the Rev. John West, the Rev. Dr. John Black, and many others who spread themselves in a thin line of labour and self-sacrifice over a vast extent of territory stretching to the Pacific Ocean. In Manitoba the system since 1890 has been a free school and undenominational one. There were sixteen Protestant schools in 1877 and seventeen Catholic schools and, in 1890, these had increased to 628 and 91 respectively. Since the new system was inaugurated considerable progress has been made and, in 1897, there were 1018 public schools with an expenditure of $810,000. The system in the Territories includes a Council of Public Instruction of a somewhat mixed character and of very recent formation. There are four members of the Government upon the Council and four appointed members from outside—two Protestants and two Catholics. Progress has been excellent, especially in view of the immense areas under Territorial jurisdiction, and the schools in operation have increased, between 1886 and 1896, from 76 to 366; the enrolled pupils from 2,553 to 12,796; the teachers from 84 to 433 and Legislative expenditure from $8,900 to $126,000.

British Columbia had practically no educational system prior to 1872. Up to that time both the earlier efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company on Vancouver Island and the later ones of the Legislature had been unsuccessful. The Public School Act of the year mentioned, however, established a defined system which was improved by legislation in 1879, 1891, and 1896. There is a Minister of Education as well as a Superintendent of Education, but the general character of the arrangements are not materially different from those in other Provinces. In 1872 there were 25 school districts which had increased to 193 in 1896; an average daily attendance of 575 as against one of 9,254; an expenditure of $36,000 as against $204,000.

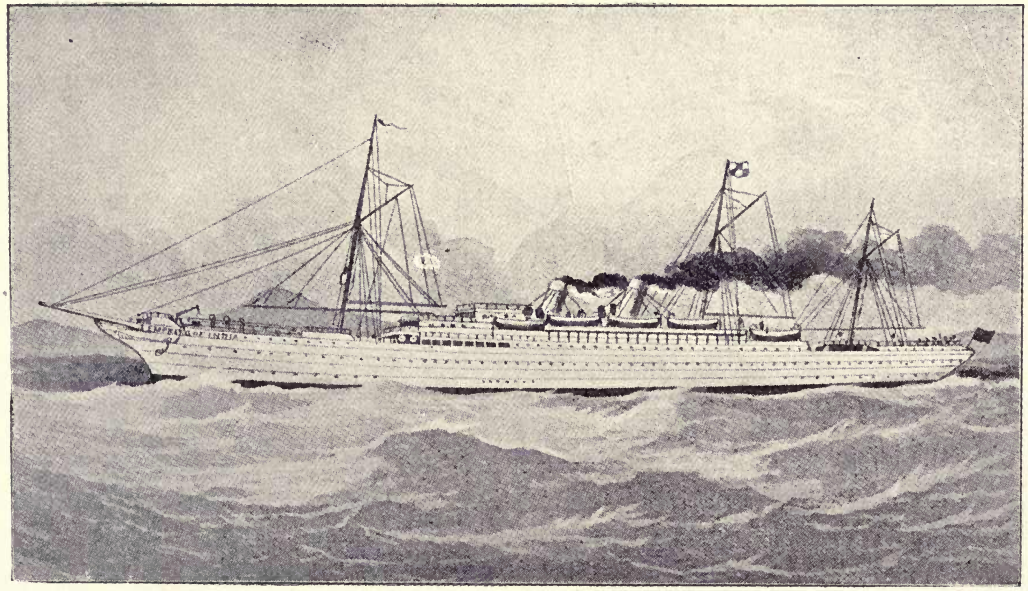
There are a large number of Indian schools in the Province under denominational control and, though it is without a University, the Roman Catholics have two Colleges for boys and various Academies, while the Methodists have a College at New Westminster. The only University from Lake Superior to the shores of the Pacific is the University of Manitoba at Winnipeg. It originated, practically, from the Anglican Red River Academy of pioneer days and was organized in 1877 with University powers and as a federated institution which included St. John's College, (the old-time Academy) Manitoba College under Presbyterian auspices, the College of St. Boniface under Catholic control, and Wesley College under Methodist guidance. Archbishop Machray, the Anglican Primate of Canada, has been its Chancellor for many years and has had much to do with its history and success.

During all these educational developments in the Provinces the factor of sectarian strife has had a more or less pronounced effect. In Quebec it took the early form of antagonism between the hierarchy and the founders of McGill University, but finally mellowed down into a condition in which Laval has become the centre of Catholic higher education and McGill of Protestant attendance. Little conflict has existed in modern times between the elementary school sections and they have worked quietly along their own distinct and marked lines. In Ontario the earlier struggles were between the dominant and dominating Church of England which desired —as in the Mother-land—to control the Universities. This desire led to the long political conflict over the constitution and functions of King's College, or, as it afterwards became, the University of Toronto. It also caused the formation of various denominational Colleges and Universities. A later struggle, in the years preceding Confederation, was fought over the Catholic desire for Separate Schools—a wish which was realized in the legislation of 1862 and chrystalized in the

pact of Confederation and the subsequent amendments of the Mowat Government. In the Maritime Provinces the struggle for supremacy in educational matters by the Church of England resulted in a division of forces and opinion which led to the foundation of Dalhousie University in antagonism to King's College and the creation of Acadia College in opposition to both. The Mount Sackville institution was, in the same way a New Brunswick protest against the original Anglicanism of its University at Fredericton. The conflicts were bitter and eventually went against the Church of England principle, but, instead of resulting in a unified system of secular higher education in each of the Provinces, as should logically have been the case, it has simply caused the multiplication of denominational colleges at the expense of the now secularized older institutions and at the expense, in many cases, of general efficiency and success.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY AND PROGRESS

The religious progress of Canada since pioneer days is a subject of fascinating interest. It has worked in different ways into the very warp and woof of Canadian history and finds a place, through denominational rivalry, in almost every Canadian branch of popular development. In Quebec, the Roman Catholic Church has guided and modified and controlled the institutions of the Province, the habits and customs of the French race, the morals and politics and loyalty of the people. It helped Lord Dorchester to save the country to the Crown in 1776; it supported Great Britain with strenuous efforts in 1812; it modified and checked the revolutionary movement of 1837; it stood by the proposals for Confederation in 1867; it largely backed up the Conservative party in its principles of expansion and protection and railway development up to 1891; it opposed the movement in favour of Commercial Union with the United States. It had a place in the Jesuits Estates question, a pronounced share in the Riel issue, an important part in the New Brunswick School question and a still more vital share in the Manitoba School matter.



CANADIAN PACIFIC STEAMSHIP LINE. THE EMPRESS OF INDIA

The Church of England in all the English Provinces was a dominant power in earlier days, an influence for loyalty to the Crown, for education in the love of British institutions, for adherence to rule by a governing Loyalist class, for devotion to the policy of British Governors. It held a high place in the Government of all the Provinces—not excepting Catholic Quebec—prior to the Rebellion; it had a strong interest in the stormy question of the Clergy Reserves; it held a vigorous position in matters of education; it did much, in co-operation with the Roman Catholic Church, to pioneer Western religious activities; it was for half a century the Church of the classes, the support of old-time Toryism, the strength of a social system which was not without great benefit to a new community and crude conditions of life.

The Methodist denomination had a pronounced place in the hearts of later settlers from the United States and the United Kingdom It was the early root and home of Canadian radicalism, the centre of opposition to Toryism, the embodiment of steady and severe missionary labours, the cause of bitter political controversy in educational matters and in such political issues as the Clergy Reserves. It held intimate associations with American Methodism and, up to 1812, a great part of its ministers were American while its polity and principles and preaching were also American in style and, too often, in advocacy and patriotism. After the war, when many of its pulpits were vacated by American citizens returning to their own country, the English element became predominant and, in 1828, the Canadian Methodist Conference was finally declared independent of the American Church. It had many ups and downs after this time and was divided upon political issues in later years by Dr. Egerton Ryerson, but always, and everywhere in the Provinces, it continued to exercise a strong influence in public affairs.

Presbyterianism was never such a political factor as were the three divisions of Christianity just referred to. Its polity was too

severe in tone and practice and its ministers too conservative, in a non partisan sense, to constitute what might be termed a semi-political denomination. Methodism was essentially a militant and missionary denomination in Canadian history; Presbyterianism was more of a strong, pervading influence among men of a single nationality. Its divisions were not so numerous as in the other case and, prior to the Disruption in Scotland, the "Kirk" often stood side by side with the Church of England as a silent factor for the preservation of old traditions and in simple antagonism to democratic innovation. The chief political issue with which it was mixed up was that of the Clergy Reserves, just as the one public question in which the strong Baptist denomination of the Maritime Provinces was concerned was that of secular education.

In all these religious divisions the controversies of the Old Land were reproduced with more or less fidelity. The Church of England disputed in the latter half of the century over forms and ceremonies of High or Low Church practice just as they did in England. Methodism was divided into the Primitive Methodist Church, the Bible Christian Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church, while its American affiliations and Canadian position brought into existence the New Methodist-Episcopal Church and the Methodist New Connexion. Presbyterianism had its Church of Scotland in Canada, its Free Church Synod, its Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces, its United Presbyterian Church, its Canada Presbyterian Church.

If, however, the denominations shared in the shaded differences of thought and creed which came to them from the Old Land, they also shared, immensely and beneficially, in the financial benefactions of the British Churches and of the great missionary Societies; while the Church of England received large sums from the British Parliament well on into the nineteenth century. Up to 1833, when a gradual reduction was begun, the Imperial Parliament granted £16,000 a year for the maintenance of this Church in British America and many

other sums were paid from time to time. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was indefatigable in its missionary work and spent large sums in extending the Episcopate, endowing missionary clergy, and aiding struggling parishes in the different Provinces. The Society for Propagating the Gospel was more than a benefactor, it was almost the parent of the Church of England in Canada. Its expenditure between 1703 and 1892 in British America was $8,930,-925 and from 1820 to 1865 its annual expenditure seldom went below $ 00,000. The Church Missionary Society was another staunch supporter of Anglicanism in Canada. The various Methodist Churches were also largely aided by funds from London and their early English missionaries were almost entirely supported from that source. So with the Presbyterian denominations and the well-known Glasgow Colonial Society and its practical work between 1825 and 1840.

The progress and *personnel* of these Churches have a most interesting record—the former because of the light it throws upon general religious conditions, the latter because of the influence it had upon public development and affairs. The Roman Catholic Church holds the chief place in numbers as well as in length of historic association with Canadian soil. As the French population of Quebec has increased, so have its adherents, and with this increase has come a similar expansion and expression of missionary zeal in the far West and in all the Provinces. The Catholic population of Quebec in 1783 has been placed at 113,000 by the Church itself. In 1830 it was at least half a million, with about 50,000 in Upper Canada. In 1851 the Church had 746,854 adherents in Lower Canada; in 1871, just after Confederation, it had 1,019,850; and in 1891 1,291,709. In Ontario, its adherents numbered in the years mentioned 167,695, 274,-165 and 358,300 respectively. In the three Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island it had, at

nearly the same periods * 181,561, 238,459 and 286,250 adherents. The Western figures are of recent date and show that in Manitoba, the Territories and British Columbia the total Catholic population in 1881 was 26,000 in round numbers, and, in 1891, 53,000. This gives a round total, for what is now the Dominion of 1,080,000 Roman Catholics in 1851, 1,530,000 in 1871, and 2,000,000 in 1891—an increase of half a million in every two decades.

The leaders of the Church during this period have had much to do with its success. In Quebec the militant Laval and loyal Plessis were succeeded by a series of eminent men of whom Archbishops Turgeon and Baillargeon of Quebec, Cardinal Taschereau, the first Canadian Prince of his Church, and Archbishops Bourget and Fabre of Montreal, were perhaps the chief. Bishop Guigues of Ottawa, Mgr. Provencher and Archbishop Taché of Manitoba, Archbishops Lynch and Walsh of Toronto, Archbishop Cleary of Kingston, Archbishops Connolly and O'Brien of Halifax, Mgr. McKinnon of Antigonish, and Bishop Demers of Vancouver Island, were the most representative successors of Macdonell and Burke and others of pioneer days. An important incident of ecclesiastical history in Canada in this connection has been the influence exercised by the Pope, at times, over its affairs. In 1877 Mgr. George Conroy was sent out to the Dominion as an Apostolic Ablegate to arrange the long-standing disputes between Laval University, in Quebec, and its branch in Montreal. In 1888, Mgr. Smueldres was despatched, largely in connection with the same troubles and partly to soothe certain Diocesan difficulties. Mgr. Raffaele Merry del Val was sent in 1897 to report upon the Manitoba School question and to prevent further agitation amongst the hierarchy if it should seem desirable. In 1899, Mgr. Diomede Falconio was appointed in a more permanent capacity to act, apparently, as the Pope's adviser upon Canadian affairs.

* The earliest figures obtainable in New Brunswick are for 1861 and in Prince Edward Island, for 1848. This statement also applies to the statistics given at the end of this chapter

Meanwhile, the great Protestant denominations had been expanding in various directions under the most strenuous exertions by their leaders. The Church of England was led in Quebec by such heroes of the missionary field as Bishop Jacob Mountain, Bishop George J. Mountain and Bishop Charles James Stewart and by such religious organizers as Dr. Williams and Dr. Fulford—the latter the first Metropolitan of Canada. In Ontario, the Rev. Dr. John Stuart and the strenuous personality of Bishop Strachan, were prominent. In the Maritime Provinces, Dr. Charles Inglis, the first Colonial Bishop and whose See for a time included all British America, Dr. John Inglis, also Bishop of Nova Scotia, Dr. Hibbert Binney, Bishop of the same Province, and Dr. John Medley, Bishop of Fredericton during forty-seven years, worked steadily in the foundation and development of the Church. So with Bishop Anderson and Archbishop Machray at Fort Garry and Winnipeg, Bishop Horden in the far-away Territories, Bishop Sillitoe in British Columbia and Bishop Bompas in the distant Yukon.

Methodism in Canada boasts pioneer labourers such as William Case, James Richardson, Henry Ryan, John Reynolds, John Davison, Egerton Ryerson, John Carroll, Anson Green, William Black—men of immense energy, deep spiritual enthusiam and the highest powers of endurance. In later and quieter days the Church—which became one great united body from ocean to ocean in 1883—boasted scholars and orators such as Dr. Mathew Richey, Dr. Enoch Wood, Dr. William Morley Punshon, Dr. George Douglas, Dr. S. D. Rice, Dr. J. A. Williams, Dr. Albert Carman, Dr. W. H. Withrow. Presbyterianism in its *personnel* has hardly had the same pioneer variety of attainment, except in the cases of Dr. James McGregor in Nova Scotia, Dr. John Cook in Quebec and Dr. John Black in the far West. In later days men of great ability or learning such as Dr. Alexander Mathieson, Dr. Robert Burns, Dr. Alexander Topp, Dr. John Jenkins, Dr. William

Reid, Dr. William Gregg, Dr. J. M. King, Dr. William Caven and Dr. Alexander MacKnight appeared on the scene. The actual and statistical progress of these three great Churches since missionary days can be seen at a glance from the following three tables:

I. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

	1851	1871	1891
Ontario	223,190	330,995	385,999
Quebec	44,682	62,449	75,472
Maritime Provinces	85,421	107,844	114,151
	353,293	501,288	575,622

The Western Provinces increased from 25,000 Anglican adherents in 1881 to 68,000 in 1891.

II. THE METHODIST DENOMINATION

	1851	1871	1891
Ontario	213,365	462,264	654,033
Quebec	21,199	34,100	39,544
Maritime Provinces	54,164	81,797	103,295
	288,728	578,161	796,872

The Western figures were 13,000 in 1881 and 51,000 in 1891.

III. PRESBYTERIANISM

	1851	1871	1891
Ontario	204,148	356,442	453,147
Quebec	33,470	46,165	52,673
Maritime Provinces	129,158	171,970	182,483
	366,776	574,577	688,303

The increase in the West was from 19,000 in 1881 to 67,000 in 1891. From these and preceding figures it is seen that, in round numbers, the Roman Catholic faith increased its adherents in all the Canadian Provinces between 1851 and 1891, by 1,000,000 souls, the Church of England by 290,000, the Methodist denomination by 460,000, and the Presbyterian Church by 388,000.

[This interesting chapter is contributed by J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S., from his "Story of the Dominion."]

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